

WINCKELMANN'S
IMAGES FROM THE
ANCIENT WORLD

GREEK, ROMAN, ETRUSCAN AND EGYPTIAN

JOHANN JOACHIM WINCKELMANN

Edited and with a New Introduction by Stanley Appelbaum

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Bibliographical Note

This Dover edition, first published in 2010, contains all the copperplate-engraved illustrations from *Monumenti antichi inediti*, by Johann Joachim Winckelmann, originally published by the author in Rome in 1767.

The original text has been omitted, and a new Introduction, notes, and captions have been written specially for this edition by Stanley Appelbaum.

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INTRODUCTION

WINCKELMANN'S LIFE AND WORK

The *Monumenti antichi inediti* (Unpublished Ancient Objects) was the last major work by the man who has been called the founder of modern art historiography (which classifies works by national, period, and individual styles) and of modern art criticism—and (though not an actual practitioner) a patron saint of archeology.

In Germany. Johann Joachim Winckelmann was born in 1717 in the Prussian city of Stendal, about 70 miles nearly due west of Berlin. His father was a cobbler who had come from Silesia; his mother, the daughter of a local weaver. Probably the decision most crucial to his meteoric social ascent was the one taken early on by his humble parents to allow him a formal education (though he had to work part- or full-time throughout his studies).

When the principal of the Stendal grammar school lost his sight in 1733, he took in the sixteen-year-old Johann to read to him; the boy earned pocket money by singing in his church choir and giving private lessons, helping to support his parents (his mother died before 1748; his father, in 1750).

Even in his teens Winckelmann was partial to ancient Greek. To perfect his knowledge of it, he moved to Berlin in 1735, enjoying secondary schooling while tutoring others and spending a few months as an assistant teacher in a small town. In 1737 he matriculated in the fairly recent University of Halle (founded 1694) as a theology student; there he was officially noted as being “unsettled and capricious.” Receiving free board, he did much studying on his own. Some biographers state or imply that he knew nothing about art before he reached Dresden, but one professor of ancient history at Halle had a collection of ancient coins, and the eminent lecturer on art history and esthetics, Alexander Gottlieb Baumgarten (1714-1762; at Halle from 1735 to 1740) is said to have opened Winckelmann's mind to the subject. Here, too, Johann was introduced to librarianship, working in the summer of 1740 as assistant librarian to a diplomat.

After a return to Stendal to earn money, by tutoring, for further education, in 1741 Winckelmann entered the University of Jena with a “major” in medicine. In 1742 he became private tutor to the son of the dean of the chapter of Magdeburg Cathedral (the two young men lived together from about 1743 to 1746). From 1743 to 1748 Winckelmann was a teacher, later assistant principal, in Seehausen (like Stendal, in the Altmark area of Brandenburg); by then he could read French, English, and Italian. But now he found himself at a dead end in his career. He submitted various unsuccessful applications for more promising positions until he was finally hired, as librarian, secretary, research assistant, and cataloguer, by Count Heinrich von Büнау, who was writing a history of the Holy Roman Empire. Winckelmann now moved into the count’s mansion at Nöthnitz, on the outskirts of Dresden. He was originally hired for one year, but he was kept on.

This “escape” to Saxony in 1748 was another major turning point in Winckelmann’s life. Saxony was a separate nation (though basically of German blood), ruled by an Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, who at the time was also the king of Poland.^{1a} Dresden was truly cosmopolitan, and the greatest art center in the German-speaking lands: many outstanding works of art had been purchased between 1726 and 1736, especially, and the city was full of avid collectors, from the Elector downward; many antiquities were accessible, and many Italians were present as advisers and courtiers. After Winckelmann gave a tour of the count’s library to Count Alberigo Archinto, the papal nuncio to Saxony, they spoke about an opening in Rome as librarian to Cardinal Domenico Passionei. To obtain such a post, it was useful to become a Roman Catholic. Winckelmann, a Lutheran from his baptism on, hesitated to take this step until 1754, when he finally completed all the formalities. Critics were annoyed then, and some are still, at Winckelmann’s change of faith, but he was never deeply religious (not even his theology studies implied this), and in the intellectual atmosphere of that Age of Enlightenment an allegiance to some vague supreme being (or else, a tepid agnosticism) was widespread. No doubt, Winckelmann’s ambition played a great part in his decision, but no one really expected a heartfelt conversion.

In 1754 Winckelmann moved directly into Dresden to teach Greek; he now began to draw a modest government pension, which was continued for the rest of his life, though not always promptly paid. Now, too, he had access to renowned living artists, such as the painter, sculptor, and teacher Adam Friedrich Oeser (1717-1799), Leipzig-based but resident in Dresden from 1739 to 1759; among other instruction, Oeser was able to teach Winckelmann about ancient

gemstones.

In 1755, still in Dresden, Winckelmann published his breakthrough, manifesto volume *Gedanken über die Nachahmung der griechischen Werke in der Malerei und Bildhauerkunst* (Thoughts on the Emulation of Greek Works of Painting and Sculpture). Issued in an edition of only fifty copies, this work consisted of a number of fairly brief paragraphs of enthusiastic aperçus on Greek art: Greek sculpture was the finest art form of all time; the Greeks, blessed with political freedom, good climate, and the constant opportunity, in gymnasiums, to look at beautiful naked boys, achieved a unique combination of physical and ideal beauty—a “noble simplicity and quiet grandeur.” (This was a shift from an earlier general predilection for ancient Rome felt ever since the Renaissance.) The emulation of Greek art could rejuvenate “decadent” modern art (that is, the late Baroque and especially the Rococo). The *Gedanken* were later translated into English by the major Swiss painter Johann Heinrich Füssli (1741-1825), who settled in England, calling himself Henry Fuseli (Winckelmann had pleasant association with Füssli’s father later in the 1750s). A shrewd publicist, Winckelmann wrote, and issued anonymously, an open letter attacking the *Gedanken*, and then a crushing reply to the attack.

In Italy. In 1755 Winckelmann finally moved to Italy. He accepted no position at first, even though his pension was menaced by the occupation of Saxony by Frederick the Great of Prussia in 1756 (early in the Seven Years’ War—which spilled over into the North American colonies as the French and Indian War). Finally he became librarian to Count Archinto in Rome. Here he made the acquaintance of such artists as Giovanni Battista Casanova (see the section on the *Monumenti* later in this Introduction) and, especially, Casanova’s teacher Anton Raphael Mengs. Mengs (1728-1779) had become court painter in Dresden in 1745; he was especially noted for his portraits—one he did of Winckelmann is owned by the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. A fellow convert to Catholicism, Mengs, who also ran an art school, guided Winckelmann through the effervescent Roman art scene, and they collaborated on essays about Greek art. Mengs left Rome in 1760 to become court painter in Madrid.

Handy for his later writings was the personal inventory Winckelmann soon made of ancient artworks in Rome. In 1756 he began composing essays that would later be incorporated into his magnum opus, the *Geschichte* (see below). Meanwhile he had acquired an important new patron, Baron Philipp von Stosch (1691-1757). Stosch had conducted excavations in 1717 for Cardinal Albani (to whom he was now going to recommend Winckelmann); in 1722 he was in Rome again, paid by the British government to spy on the

doings of the “Old Pretender,” James Francis Edward Stuart (or Stewart; 1688-1766), who had led the Scottish rising of 1715 (and whose son, Bonny Prince Charlie, 1720-1788, was to do the same in 1745). In 1731 Stosch had moved to Florence, where he assembled an outstanding collection of Greek and Roman gems. Now, having been sent a copy of the *Gedanken* by Winckelmann, he invited him to Florence, but Winckelmann was unable to get there until after Stosch’s death. Winckelmann made a scholarly, detailed catalog of Stosch’s gems (many of which are illustrated in the *Monumenti* as well) in the book *Description des pierres gravées du feu Baron de Stosch* (Description of the Engraved Stones of the Late Baron von Stosch; published in 1760, with a dedication to Cardinal Albani, the new master to whom he had been passed along).² Stosch’s collection later went to Berlin, having been purchased by Frederick II (the Great) of Prussia (1712-1786). During Winckelmann’s nine months in Florence, he studied the Etruscan art objects there, collected out of national pride by the subjects of the Grand Duke of Tuscany.

[Before accompanying Winckelmann back to Rome, let us summarize in one paragraph his four trips to Campania (in the politically separate Kingdom of Naples), the first of which had taken place in 1758. The chief purpose was to visit the excavations at Herculaneum and Pompeii, cities buried by the eruption of Vesuvius in A.D. 79; not counting some earlier accidental or muddled digs, official excavation had begun in 1738 at Herculaneum, in 1748 at Pompeii. The excavations were being conducted as a private enterprise of the king of Naples; items considered choice were kept at a private museum at Portici, while everything else was badly recorded and reburied, and the digging methods caused much careless destruction. In 1758, Winckelmann reached his furthest point south in his lifetime, the ruins at Paestum, slightly southeast of Salerno (see also the commentary to engravings Nos. 190 and 200, below). After his second trip to the Naples area, in 1762, Winckelmann issued an open letter demanding that more objects be kept, that unearthed areas be left open and visible, that better records be kept, that less be destroyed, and that the topographic relationships be respected. After his third trip, in 1764, he published a report on new finds at Herculaneum. His last trip to the area was in 1767.]

When Winckelmann returned to Rome from Florence, Count Archinto was dead and Cardinal Passionei (his originally intended employer in Rome) was senile. Now his patron became Cardinal Alessandro Albani (1692-1779; created a cardinal in 1721), to whom he was to dedicate the *Monumenti*. A promoter of excavations and a tireless collector, Cardinal Albani had early on created a house-

museum in his Palazzo Albani on the Quirinal hill; in 1734 his extensive collection became the basis of the new Museo Capitolino on the Campidoglio (Capitoline hill), and he began a new collection. This was later housed in the new Villa Albani (just each of the grounds of the Villa Borghese; now also called the Villa Torlonia, after a later owner—not to be confused with the separate Museo Torlonia!). The Villa Albani was built with Winckelmann's advice, and it was he that supervised the installation of the artworks in accordance with his own style-period and iconographic principles. Mengs painted the Greek-emulating ceiling decoration *Parnassus* in the grand hall (Gran Salone).

In 1763 Winckelmann was appointed Commissario (or, Prefetto) delle Antichità della Camera Apostolica (Commissioner of antiquities of the Papal States) to keep him in Rome after he had received offers of positions in the German lands. Aides were able to handle the more mundane duties of keeping track of the ancient artworks, preventing them from being smuggled out, and issuing permits for excavations. Winckelmann himself became a glorified cicerone for visiting dignitaries, including royalty, and for wealthy north-European noblemen on the fashionable Grand Tour (at times he could show around more congenial German and Swiss visitors who shared his interests and helped finance some of his projects).

[The Grand Tour was an expensive “finishing course” for foreigners, especially British, after taking their university degrees. In Rome they could imbibe the local culture, carouse, be painted by such famous artists as Pompeo Batoni (see commentary an engraving No. 180), and purchase tons of antiquities. (Such collecting had begun in earnest in the Renaissance—in some fields, even in the Middle Ages—but it became especially hectic in the eighteenth century.) Winckelmann is said to have quipped that the British would soon remove the entire Column of Trajan to London. Lord Chesterfield (see note 6 to the Introduction) wrote to his traveling son in 1749: “You cannot have too much of Rome, whether on account of the language, the curiosities, or the company.” Amusingly, he added in a letter of a few days later: “no days [should be] lost in poring upon almost imperceptible *intaglios* and cameos; and do not become a virtuoso of small wares.”]

Also in 1763, Winckelmann was appointed cataloguer of German manuscripts in the Vatican library, under the wing of Cardinal Albani. From at least 1759, he had also been submitting important articles and essays to German cultural and art journals.

Dated 1764, though it actually appeared in December 1763, was the book considered Winckelmann's greatest single contribution, the *Geschichte der Kunst des Altertums* (History of the Art of Antiquity),

illustrated by line drawings. In this history, he emphasizes Greek art, especially the sculpture. The main concepts of the book, which he repeated more briefly in the Preliminary Treatise in the *Monumenti* (see the brief discussion in the later section of this Introduction devoted to that book), constituted the most thoroughgoing rethinking of the history of art since Vasari's *Lives*—with an emphasis on historical forces rather than Vasari's individual biographies (Giorgio Vasari, 1511-1574; *Le vite de' più eccellenti architetti, pittori, e scultori italiani* [The Lives of the Most Outstanding Italian Architects, Painters, and Sculptors] first appeared in 1550 and was greatly expanded in 1568). Winckelmann's *Geschichte* made him the greatest exponent and prophet of the art trend known as Neo-Classicism.

As the Enlightenment's artistic reaction against the Baroque and the Rococo—manifesting a secular, often bourgeois, shift away from the strictly Christian perception of life and culture—Neo-Classicism was to dominate European art for the rest of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth (with such eminent practitioners as David in painting, Canova in sculpture, and Percier and Fontaine in architecture and interior design), until it made way for (the already latent) Romanticism and merged into the various historical Revival styles, after presiding over the Empire and Regency styles.

Winckelmann's lifetime was also the era of such proto-Neo-Classical works and phenomena as (to name just a few examples): (1) *The Antiquities of Athens*, in four volumes, 1762-1830 (it first made western Europe generally aware of the Parthenon), by the painter James Stuart (1713-1788) and the architect Nicholas Revett (1720-1804), who had been sent to Greece by the Society of Dilettanti in 1751; (2) *The Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro* [sic], 1764, by Robert Adam (see commentary to engraving No. 81); and (3) the publications, from 1766 on, of his own collection of Greek vases by Sir William Hamilton (1730-1803; husband of the notorious Lady Emma), ambassador to Naples from 1764 to 1800—Hamilton's publications directly influenced the production of the potter Josiah Wedgwood (1730-1795).

[Of course, no one composes in a vacuum without a past, and many recent historians have duly pointed out predecessors of Winckelmann, both theoreticians with similar views and writers of pictorial volumes analogous to the *Monumenti*. Again mentioning just a very few, such theoreticians included: (1) Joseph Justus Scaliger (1540-1609), who in 1608 had devised a stylistic periodization of Greek *literature* (Winckelmann was to see the Greeks' *art* as the foremost expression of their spirit); (2) Franciscus Junius (1591-1677), in his 1694 *De pictura veterum* (On the Painting of the Ancients); and (3) Anne-Claude-

Philippe de Tubières, comte de Caylus (1692-1765), who had offered a new stylistic analysis of ancient art in his *Recueil d'antiquités égyptiennes, étrusques, grecques, romaines et gauloises* (Collection of Egyptian, Etruscan, Greek, Roman, and Gaulish Antiquities; 1752-1767). Among the pictorial works: (1) the many engravings of Roman ruins by Giovanni Battista Piranesi (1720-1798), beginning in the 1740s; (2) *Le antichità di Ercolano* (The Antiquities of Herculaneum; eight volumes, 1750s through 1790s); and (3) the publication, between 1755 and 1763, by Philipp Daniel Lippert (1702-1785) of three thousand pictures of his gems and plaster casts. Of course, these predecessors are now known chiefly to specialists, whereas Winckelmann's enthusiasm, engaging writing style, and self-publicizing have kept his name fresh as a universally recognized beacon.]

In 1765, Winckelmann was offered the directorship of the collections of antiquities in Berlin, but the negotiations were eventually broken off. In 1767 (other minor books, not discussed here, had appeared in 1762 and 1766) he published the *Monumenti*, basis of the present Dover volume, which is elaborately described and discussed in the following section of this Introduction.

No one has ever been able to explain convincingly why, in 1768, Winckelmann started on a trip back to German lands instead of visiting Greece as he had planned. Certainly, on the trip he exhibited symptoms of a severe nervous breakdown. He got no farther north than Munich and Regensburg, before making a long detour to Vienna, where he delivered despatches from Cardinal Albani to the empress Maria Theresa (1717-1780; reign began 1740); at the Hapsburg court, the son of the lowly cobbler was honored by an audience with, and medals from, the empress.

After a few days in a Vienna hospital, the convalescent undertook the first leg of his return to Rome, stopping in Trieste, then a free port within the Hapsburg empire. While staying at a highly respectable hotel there, he was murdered by a man to whom he had shown some of his valuables (was his weakened condition responsible for this breach of the caution inculcated into all travelers at the time?). That the occasion of his death might not have been purely an instance of robbery, but that some homosexual "rough trade" may also have been involved, is suggested by the fact that victim and killer had kept company for several days, while Winckelmann was waiting for a ship that would take him either to Venice or to Ancona.

Winckelmann had "tried to put order into a heterogeneous study." He had recognized the use of artworks as a source of historical research, as objects to be examined scientifically and graded by their

dates, using stylistic comparisons. Well known and admired in his lifetime, he was consecrated by the collection of essays edited by Goethe from 1799 to 1805, *Winckelmann und sein Jahrhundert* (Winckelmann and His Century). Ever since then his influence (on such thinkers as Schiller, Fichte, and Alexander von Humboldt) and his fame have never waned. The current teaching of art history all over the world owes a great debt to him.

THE MONUMENTI ANTICHI INEDITI

Breakdown of Contents.³ (The work is in two folio volumes, page size $10\frac{1}{8} \times 15\frac{3}{8}$ inches. There are two sets of Roman-numbered pages in the front matter of the first volume, i—xxiv and, immediately following, i—civ; these numbers are not expressed on blank pages, pages with section openings, etc.)

VOLUME I: i = half title; ii = blank.

iii = title: *Monumenti antichi inediti* spiegati ed illustrati da Giovanni Winckelmann, Prefetto delle antichità di Roma (Unpublished Ancient Objects Explained and Illustrated by Johann [Joachim] Winckelmann, Commissioner of Antiquities in Rome); next comes “First Volume”; below that is the first of the 18 unnumbered engravings in the work (called A through R in this Dover edition); below engraving A is the imprint: “Roma MDCCLXVII [1767], a spese dell’autore [at the author’s expense].” (iv = blank.)

v—vii (with engraving B at the head of page v) = the dedication. It is to Cardinal Albani, whose name will make the book acclaimed since he is the foremost patron and most knowledgeable connoisseur in Europe of the fine arts of antiquity; he gave the author many suggestions and watched over the progress of the book, which is “no less yours than mine.”

viii = engraving C.

ix—xiii (with engraving D at the start and engraving E at the end) = Explanation of the Unnumbered Engravings.

xiv = engraving F.

xv—xxiv (with engraving G at the head of page xv) = Preface. The author gives two reasons for writing the book: (1) earlier books had included only easily elucidated items, leaving unexplained any difficult ones that *were* included; and (2) the author wishes to correct and clarify passages in ancient writers on the arts.⁴ Most of the items are unpublished, some published but faultily explained. The subject

matter of the items is more important than their intrinsic beauty [in Winckelmann's eyes!]. Most explanations of the subject matter can be found in mythology (rather than through Roman history and the like).⁵ Enormous care has been taken in the identifications, using every visual clue. [The second set of Roman numbers follows.]

i [second set] = part title to the author's Preliminary Treatise on ancient art; ii = blank.

iii–viii = an outline of the content of the Preliminary Treatise.

ix–ciii = “Trattato preliminare dell’arte del disegno degli antichi popoli” (Preliminary Treatise on the Visual Arts of the Peoples of Antiquity); engraving H is at the head of page ix; four more engravings appear at chapter ends: I on page xiv, J on page xxv, K on page xxxv, and L on page ciii. The Treatise is an abridgment, in Italian, of the author's 1764 magnum opus, the *History of the Arts of Antiquity*. He admits that lack of evidence makes his chapter on Egypt very shaky [it's now obsolete]. He believes that the Etruscans derived all their art from the Greeks [but doesn't fall into the long-standing error of calling “Etruscan” the purely Greek vases found at Etruscan sites (the Etruscans were actually avid collectors)]. He states his firm maxim that troubled times and despotism are bad for art.⁶ The Greeks applied themselves chiefly to youthful figures because bodies at that age have the most “unity” and “simplicity,” which are the keys to “sublimity” [some authorities find a more personal explanation of his predilection for young male nudes].

In his “early, severe, archaic” period of Greek art, he sees a progression from angular, Egyptianizing forms to overdone, Etruscan-like ones, leading to a culmination in Athens, especially in the sculpture of Myron, a contemporary of the teachers of Phidias and Polycletus. The second, “sublime” period takes in the fifty years after the Persian Wars, when Athens basked in liberty, peace, and high culture (Phidias, Polycletus, Scopas, and other sculptors.) The third Greek style, one of “beauty” and “grace,” is exemplified by the sculptors Praxiteles and Lysippus and the painter Apelles [Winckelmann mistakenly includes his beloved sculptural group *Laocoön* in this period]. After the death of Alexander the Great, decline sets in [this is ironic, because almost all his favorites actually come from the ensuing Hellenistic and Roman periods], though some good work was done under the Seleucids and Ptolemies and there were brief revivals in mainland Greece. After the Romans conquered and looted Greece, and Rome became the center of European art, the decline was more precipitous; for example, some painting, as at Pompeii, was executed by freedmen (emancipated slaves), whereas only free-born men had painted in “good” times [an instance of

Winckelmann's almost intolerable pomposity and snobbishness]. Art that can be called Greek ended with the Antonine emperors, the preceding reigns of Trajan and Hadrian marking a relatively high point. New vigor was later apparent in Byzantium, as late as Justin, because the artists there were able to study many older Greek objects that had still survived. (The Romans receive no credit for originality; they represent merely a debased continuation of Greek art.)

civ = engraving M.

1 = Dover part title: The Plates (part title added in this edition, as are all the Arabic page numbers mentioned in the breakdown of Volume I).

Engravings 1-208 [Dover pages 2-135 (a few versos are blank; all original plate pages were unbacked)].

VOLUME II (front matter altogether unnumbered): recto = half-title; verso = blank; recto = title (saying "Second Volume" and including engraving N; otherwise, unchanged from Volume I); verso = blank.

Next four pages: the subject matter of the plates, in a detailed outline (with engraving O), the large-scale breakdown of this outline is as follows:

Part One: Religious Mythology

Section One: The Gods in
General (engravings 1-7)

Section Two: The Individual
Gods (8-80)

Part Two: "Historical Mythology" [legends]

Section One: Before the
Trojan War (81-109)

Section Two: The Trojan War
(110-162)

Part Three: Greek and Roman History (163-180)

Part Four: Rites, Customs, and the Arts

Pages 1-283 (engraving P is on page 108; engraving Q, on page 238) = the text of the Explanation of the Plates [source of the Commentary on the Engravings in the present edition, which is obviously greatly abridged, with most of the guesswork and the tortuous arguments for identification omitted, as are almost all references to works not illustrated].

284 = engraving R. [Four indexes follow.]

285 = part title to the Indexes.

286 = blank.

287-290 = Index of Books Cited [ancient and modern].

291-297 = Index of Authors [ancient and modern] That Have Been Corrected and Elucidated [a monument to Winckelmann's arrogance].

298-354 = Index by Subject Matter [with glosses of Greek and Roman terms].

355-368 = Index of Ancient Objects Mentioned [arranged by their locations in 1767]. At the foot of page 368 is the indication of the printer of the two volumes: Marco Pagliarini.

"369" (unnumbered) = a handful of errata, and two imprimaturs.

"370" = blank. [Both volumes also had a number of ornamental initials and headpieces and tailpieces, all but two of them (initials) in woodcut.]⁷

The Engravings. The *Monumenti* was a pioneering work in the depiction of ancient art (though, as we've seen, not the first or even the only one); it has been seen as making the formerly traditional accounts of mythological iconography "increasingly old-fashioned."

The only credited engraving in *Monumenti* is No. 180 (see the Commentary on the Engravings, below). A number of the drawings of the objects prepared for engraving in the *Monumenti* are said to have been made by Giovanni Battista Casanova (1728 or 1730-1795; dates also found: 1726-1801), ⁸ a brother of the famous adventurer and lover Giovanni Giacomo (Jacopo). This artist, raised in Dresden, arrived in Rome in 1752 and became a pupil of Mengs; he was famed for his drawings after the antique: before their differences, Winckelmann called him "the greatest draftsman in Rome after Mengs." Casanova became associated with Winckelmann after 1755, and is said to have given him drawing lessons. He helped to illustrate early volumes of the 1755 (1757?)-1792 publication *Le antichità di*

Ercolano esposte (The Antiquities of Herculaneum Shown). By 1764 he had become director of the Dresden art academy. A serious wrangle with Winckelmann (the details and chronology of which are clouded) resulted from an alleged attempt by Casanova (in 1765?; Mengs may also have been involved, but was never assailed by Winckelmann) to foist drawings of forgeries on the art historian; Casanova countered this charge by accusing Winckelmann of trying, by his lawsuit, to appropriate the half-share in the cost of the engravings for the *Monumenti* that Casanova had agreed to put up. As it is, Winckelmann had to raise all the money for the book on his own, through subscriptions, and any Casanova drawings in the book had been made before the dispute. (A biographer of Winckelmann states that the art historian had hoped to gain financial security by sales of the book, but just broke even.)

The finished engravings in the *Monumenti* are in many different styles of rendering; some look forward to the outline style that was to flourish in the full Neo-Classical period, as exemplified by John Flaxman (1755-1826), for instance. As will be pointed out in the Commentary, a few of the engravings show the objects in reverse; in the case of intaglio gems, of course, there may be an excuse for this, depending on whether the drawing was of the gem itself or of an impression taken from it.

Winckelmann's Methods and Preferences. A careful scholar, Winckelmann based his identifications and judgments not only on contemporary or near-contemporary authorities, but also, and chiefly, on the art-historical and critical writings of the ancients themselves, which he had studied extensively. (For example, his discussion of engraving No. 16 above is peppered with 33 footnote references to works ancient and modern!) Considering the small amount of archeological material at his disposal, relative to today, his judgments are sound time and again, and some of his rough outline of Greek art history is still being used (Archaic, Classic [his "sublime" for the later fifth century B.C., and "graceful" for the fourth], Hellenistic [though the term came into use later], and Roman-era [though Roman art is usually no longer downgraded as it was by him]).

It's all too easy to criticize Winckelmann for not knowing all that we know today, from countless excavations, about earlier periods of ancient art that precede his material by millennia. (Educated guessing that leads to a great variety of conclusions still occurs daily, and a few diehard scholars still exhibit misplaced contempt for the Etruscans and Romans, not to mention for the professional copyists in ancient times.)

Winckelmann has been especially taken to task for liking (and dating too early) Neo-Attic works (see note 14) and Greco-Roman

copies of earlier works (but he *was* aware of the existence of multiple versions). The trend of copying masterpieces of the past actually began in Greece by the second century B.C. (there are even “dynasties” of revered copyists in the first century B.C.) before it was welcomed by wealthy Roman collectors, who wanted their own versions of works lauded by the writers they knew. Most, if not all these copies, were made honorably by Greeks, either at home or as immigrants to Italy. The copies weren’t slavishly mass-produced; and the variations were surely due to taste and purpose, as well as skill. These copies, it has been said recently, are “best seen as an expression of artistic choice.” Even those modern critics who are most hostile to copies admit that, without them, we would still be ignorant of the appearance of some of the loftiest Greek masterpieces. ⁹ (Of course, our views about the derivation and evolution of the Greek gods, which Winckelmann isn’t concerned with, have altered as well; nor does he discuss the degree of true religiosity felt by the various social classes of the ancients at any given time.)

Including virtually no examples of architecture in the *Monumenti*, Winckelmann chiefly illustrated bas-reliefs, statues, gems, vases, and mosaics, along with some paintings, furnishings, etc. (He says next to nothing about their original use, a very brief outline of which follows: Reliefs could be funerary [on upright gravestones, sarcophagi, or other monuments], votive [religious offerings], historical /commemorative, or merely decorative [in their original use in homes, they sometimes formed part of a planned overall iconographic scheme]; statues could be honorary/commemorative [in public places] or decorative [as in Roman houses and villas]; gems [which are usually tiny; enormously magnified in the *Monumenti* engravings] were used in rings, seals, and pendants, or might just be collected by fanciers [gems with a design dug into the stone are called intaglios; those sculptured in layers from a stone are called cameos]; mosaics were used on walls and [especially] floors; almost all the paintings that have come down to us are from murals, though the equivalent of easel paintings did exist and may have inspired other, surviving, works of art in different mediums. [It’s impossible, in this short space, to discuss the historical time frame in which these genres emerged and evolved (Winckelmann never does so).])

Winckelmann had a predilection for pieces that were smooth, polished, Classic-looking—and restored (he fostered the now-exploded notion that ancient temples and statues were left unpainted). He preferred to illustrate pieces that he knew well, the majority coming from the Villa Albani, the Museo Capitolino (an earlier collection by Cardinal Albani), and the Villa Borghese. It’s possible that his

acquaintance with numerous British-owned works was due to his closeness to Albani, one of whose duties at the papal court was to protect the interests of the British crown. Winckelmann's emphasis on mythological explanations of subject matter, though sometimes carried too far (see note 5), was by no means foolish: recent writers have pointed out that the ancients often used universally recognizable mythological scenes to symbolize current events.

THE NATURE OF THIS DOVER EDITION

We have taken directly from the two original volumes of the *Monumenti* only their 226 engravings (the 208 with engraved Arabic numerals and the 18 unnumbered ones, here referred to as A through R). Nos. 1-208 appear (on Dover pages 2-135) chiefly in their original mise-en-page; A through R are newly ganged up on Dover pages 136-143. The rate of reduction in this Dover volume is between 75% and 100%. We have furnished Arabic page numbers on the plate pages, and we have placed on those pages extremely brief "label" captions, which intentionally occupy very little space. All the identifications in these brief captions are Winckelmann's!

Dropping the voluminous original text, we have added instead this new Introduction, in which we have tried to give a nonexhaustive, pointillistic depiction of the ferment of the art world both in ancient times and in bustling eighteenth-century Europe. In this Introduction we have outlined the contents of the two original volumes, and, in our Commentary on the Engravings (the following, and final, section), we condense the text of Winckelmann's Explanation of the Plates in his original second volume. We there give a fuller treatment than on the plate pages of Winckelmann's identifications (and other data),¹⁰ but we also provide supplementary material (always within square brackets). In 38 cases (17% of the total) we have supplied a precis of information from authorities of the twentieth century (and even the twenty-first) giving the most recent identifications, locations, and (usually) dating of the works illustrated (almost all these new, or newly confirmed, identifications are based on published photos of the works, only a very few on conclusive verbal descriptions).¹¹ Furthermore (not counting mere snippets of information, such as filling in gaps in the narration of myths) significant square-bracket additions, concerning the 1767 owners or other aspects of art history, have been made in at least 29 other items in the Commentary. (It's impossible, given the parameters of this edition, to provide a more systematic presentation of mythology, political history, and art history in ancient times, let alone the history of the modern rediscovery of the

COMMENTARY ON THE ENGRAVINGS

The unbracketed material is a condensation, in a fairly uniform pattern, of the information scattered through Winckelmann's frequently lengthy and discursive text; the identifications and conjectures therein are his. The material within square brackets has been newly provided by the editor of this Dover volume, making use of various reliable modern reference works. An attempt has been made, in this new material, to identify individual owners mentioned by Winckelmann, but generally not museums or other institutions, palaces, or villas. The reader is expected to have or obtain at least a rudimentary knowledge of ancient mythology and history.

1: A paste (glass-paste imitation of a gemstone, for slenderer purses) from the Stosch collection [Florence, then Berlin; see section "Winckelmann's Life and Work"]: a clothed, winged Jupiter [Zeus]¹² with his beloved Semele (soon to be the mother of Bacchus) and the thunderbolts that will destroy her when they copulate.

2: Gem from the Stosch collection: a nude, winged Jupiter with Semele.

3: Chalcedony scarab¹³ in the collection of Christian Dehn, Rome: Neptune [Poseidon] with thunderbolts, trident, and chariot. [Dehn, ca. 1697–1770, was a former retainer of Stosch's who dealt in prints of Stosch's gems.]

4: A paste from the Stosch collection: Mars [Ares] hurling a thunderbolt at a Titan (or giant) during the war between the gods and those earthborn creatures.

5: Marble wellhead in the Museo Capitolino, Rome (being used as a base for a marble urn); Etruscan (?): twelve major gods—TOP, LEFT TO RIGHT, Juno [Hera], Jupiter, Vulcan [Hephaestus], Neptune, Mercury [Hermes], Ceres [Demeter] or Vesta [Hestia]; BOTTOM, Venus [Aphrodite], Mars, Diana [Artemis], Apollo, Hercules [Herakles], Pallas [Athena; Minerva]; found in a vineyard outside the Porta del Popolo and given to Cardinal Albani by the Grand Duke of Tuscany, who owned the vineyard. [In all likelihood, this is the Neo-Attic¹⁴ *puteal* (wellhead) in the Musei Capitolini depicting twelve archaizing Olympians in two converging processions; specific mythological events have been suggested, but this is probably just one of the endless lineups to be found in Neo-Attic reliefs (many more in this volume); wells could be sacral spaces, like the enclosures of

temple precincts.]

6: Altar in the Villa Albani, Rome: several gods—Mercury, Bacchus [Dionysus], Venus, Neptune, Proserpina [Persephone], Jupiter, Vesta(?), and Diana. [Probably Neo-Attic.]

7: Bas-relief in the Villa Albani: Bacchus's *genius*, or attendant spirit (or else his “favorite,” Ampelus, son of Silenus), shown as a satyr with the bacchanalian attributes panther and thyrsus (a reed topped with an ivy-leaf cluster). [The tip of the thyrsus is usually described as a pinecone.]

8: “Hitherto unpublished” object in the Museo Capitolino: the mother-goddess Cybele (or a Roman matron decked out as Cybele); olive wreath with three medallions (of Attis, Jupiter, and again Attis), a picture of her beloved mate Attis on her bosom, strands of pearls or beads, a snake-head necklace; in her right hand, olive branches and cymbals; in her left, a container with a pinecone and almonds; immediately to her left, a scourge; farther right, a tambourine, two wind instruments, and a box.

9: Gem “formerly” in the Crozat collection, inscribed “of Neisos,” a name “not found elsewhere”: a beardless Jupiter with his eagle and an aegis (magically protective goatskin). [A carnelian (or, cornelian) gem in the Hermitage, Saint Petersburg; made in the late fourth or early third century B.C.;¹⁵ the figure is Alexander the Great (356-323) posing as Zeus; Neisos was the owner, not the artist. Pierre Crozat (1665-1740) was a banker who collected gems, drawings, and paintings.]

10: Cameo in the Farnese collection, Naples, signed “Athenion”: Jupiter attacking giants. [A sardonyx gem in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples, dating from the third or second century B.C.; Athenion is famous, and this cameo is considered a masterpiece.]

11: Bas-relief (one side of a triangular altar) in the basement of the Villa Borghese, Rome: a “unique” image of Jupiter riding a centaur (Chiron?) who holds a fawn or doe (a hunting theme?); the abraded face of the centaur is imaginatively restored in the engraving.

12: A paste in the Stosch collection: head of Jupiter with two flies (the god chases away flies). [This may be an apotropaic hypostasis (chasing-away form) of the god, called Myiodes (later, Zeus Apomyios); flies on gems may have been intended to avert the evil eye; a connection has been made with this form of Zeus and the Canaanite deity Ba'al-zevuv (Beelzebub), Lord of the Flies.]

13: Gem in the Stosch collection: Jupiter as a fly. [See No. 12; Winckelmann considered this piece an example of the folly of

pagan religion.]

14: Lifesize statue in the papal gardens on the Quirinal hill, Rome: Juno nursing Hercules.

15: One side of an “Etruscan-style” triangular altar in the Villa Borghese: Juno with tongs (which have some relation to military tactics), facing Pallas. [Winckelmann doesn’t describe the rest, but Hygeia (Hygieia), goddess of health, is to the left of Juno, and the flower bearer may be Venus (see No. 30).]

16: Bas-relief (no location given): at the far right is Hebe, daughter of Juno and goddess of youth, supplicating another goddess (Ceres? Ops [Rhea]? the Romans’ Bona Dea?) to restore her to the post of nectar bearer at the meals of the gods (she had spilled some); in the center, Juno is seated with her messenger Iris [the rainbow] beside her; beside Jupiter is Ganymede, Hebe’s adolescent male replacement; the remaining figure may be Vesta.

17: Statue in the Villa Albani: Pallas; “in a very old style”[!]; she wears an ornamental aegis and a snake-belt; a bronze helmet was once attached to her head.

18: Copy, in the Vatican library [Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana], by Francesco Bartoli, of a painting in the Baths of Titus: Pallas, holding musical instruments, is throwing one away because blowing it made her ugly (see the gesture of the goddess on the right); also present are two goddesses or nymphs, and the deity of a river or fountain (into which Pallas is being urged to look). [Bartoli (1675-1730), probably best known for his drawings of now-lost works by Cellini, aided his father Pietro Sante Bartoli (1635-1700; a painter and architect who drew ancient ruins.)]

19 & 20: Bas-reliefs (fragments of sarcophagi) in the Palazzo Albani, Rome (No. 19), and the Villa Albani (No. 20): Ceres; the god may be Neptune; the horse is Arion, borne by Ceres (in the guise of a mare) to Neptune (in the guise of a stallion); in No. 19, the boy is a nuptial *genius* (something like a guardian angel), or the attendant spirit of Neptune or of Pelops; in No. 20, the four smaller females are Nereids (sea nymphs) who attended on Arion.

21: Round altar in the Villa Borghese: Diana as the moon, with the astronomical figures Hesperus (evening star, with raised torch) and Phosphorus (morning star, or daybreak, with lowered torch); the old man with crab claws in his hair is Oceanus (the moon rests in the ocean during daylight hours).

22: Vase in the Vatican library: on the neck, the sun and the moon in a ship-borne chariot (an Egyptian notion); the horses at the left are

held by (the planet) Mercury; at the right is (the planet) Mars or Venus with weapons; the standing youths on the handles may be the divine twins Castor and Pollux [Polydeuces], representing the zodiac [as Gemini]; Winckelmann doesn't discuss the (heavily restored) main register.

23: Bas-relief in the Villa Albani: Diana with a hunting dog, a torch (in her Hecate embodiment?), and a vessel into which a winged female (Ceres? Victory [Nike]?) is pouring a libation; the male figure has been restored as Bacchus (who is associated with Ceres).

24: Gem in the collection of Thomas Jenkins, Rome: Narcissus (his love of hunting is symbolized by the statuette of Diana, who has similar stag skulls ornamenting her temple buildings; the amorino represents the love for Narcissus felt by the nymph Echo (and by himself). [Jenkins (1722-1798) was a banker, painter, art dealer, and sponsor of excavations, another protégé of Cardinal Albani; he died on reaching England as he fled from the French Revolutionary army that created the 1798 Roman Republic (the regime discussed in Sardou's play, and Puccini's opera, about La Tosca).]

25: Marble statuette in the Villa Albani: Nemesis (identified by the raising of her drapery, symbolizing latent justice); the head and the right arm are restored.

26: Bas-relief (clay?) "formerly in Rome" (the engraving is based on a drawing of the object): Pudicitia (Modesty), or Dike or Astraea (both stand for Justice), friends and associates of Nemesis who fled the Earth when evil prevailed; the human woman is kneeling in adoration.

27: Bas-relief (no location given): The discovery of Mars's adultery with Venus; Vulcan (her husband) raises the concealing curtain; Venus blames Mercury (extreme right) for not having kept better watch; Juno (or Bellona?) stands above Jupiter; there are two amorini; the figure with bat's wings is Night; at the far left is the wedding of Venus and Vulcan.

28: Bas-relief in the Palazzo Albani: same subject as No. 27; LEFT TO RIGHT, a fragment of Neptune's entourage, Apollo, Cybele, Mercury, Vulcan, Mars, Venus, Bacchus, Hercules, and(?); the seated woman is Earth.

29: Sarcophagus fragment in the Villa Albani: the figure on the pedestal may be the war goddess Bellona or a Fury [Erinys] (thus, a soldier's tomb?); the nude man may be a priest of Bellona; the old woman may be sacrificing a rooster to the goddess; the lion's head is one of those that appeared at either end of many sarcophagi.

30: Triangular base of a marble candelabrum [lamp stand] in the

Palazzo Barberini, Rome: Venus with a lily (as patroness of gardens, or of the grape harvest?).

31: (Not described by Winckelmann at all.) [Venus, Cupid (Greek: Eros), and two handmaidens.]

32: Gem from the Stosch collection: Cupid with keys (to Venus's bedroom?). [He also has Hercules's club and lion skin.]

33: Allegorical gem in the collection of Lord Hope, England: unrequited love symbolized by an amorino with a torch embracing a sad putto [another amorino carries a lantern]; the crag at the right may represent a suicide leap for unhappy lovers. [Lord Hope may be James, third earl of Hopetoun, Hopetoun House, Edinburgh (1741-1816); at any rate, this is surely the same "Lord Hope" that made purchases from the Rome-based excavator and dealer Gavin Hamilton (1723-1798); no connection with the later collector Thomas Hope, a banker!]

34: Gem (no location given): Psyche [the soul] with a two-pronged fork (representing the peacefulness of farming?—a peace opposed by militant Cupid).

35: Colossal head in the Villa Medici, Rome: a triton or other marine deity (gills on eyebrows, nose, cheeks, and chin).

36: Marble bas-relief in the Villa Albani "reminiscent of two paintings from Herculaneum": Polyphemus, son of Neptune, singing a love song to the nymph Galatea, to the music of a roughhewn lyre, under the dictation of Cupid; the right arm, with the plectrum, is restored. [Hellenistic (that is, between ca. 300 and 30 B.C.); still in the Villa Albani. An analogous (not identical!) image of Polyphemus serenading Galatea is found on a wall painting, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, from the imperial villa at Boscotrecase, north of Pompeii, dated to the last quarter of the first century B.C.]

37: Marble relief in the Villa Madama, Rome: The monster Scylla (almost lifesize), claiming victims, with an amorino riding a centaur (part of a monument for a naval victory?).

38: A round "Etruscan-style" altar in the Museo Capitolino: Mercury with Apollo and Diana. [Neo-Attic?]

39: Scarab in the Stosch collection: Mercury with a tortoise on his shoulder (referring to his invention of the lyre from a tortoise shell?); he holds a female figurine (Proserpina, whom he led out of the underworld after her abduction by Pluto [Hades]?)—or is he depicted as a recaller of souls of the dead?

40: Statue in the Villa Borghese: Apollo Sauroctonus (lizard-killer), after Praxiteles's [bronze] original [of ca. 350 B.C.]; Apollo is threatening the lizard with a (now-lost) arrow in his right hand [is he just teasing it? The raised left hand may have held a cord to tether the lizard. The subject may be a playful reference to the god's fight with the serpent Pytho at Delphi, or may hark back to a tradition of sun gods killing lizards, which symbolize the sun because of their need to bask in sunlight. There are several extant copies, with slight differences; the Villa Borghese copy, which may have been in the Borghese collection as early as 1650, was purchased in 1807 by Napoleon, who bought the bulk of the Villa Borghese antiquities in the first decade of the nineteenth century; it is now in the Louvre, Paris.]

41: Silver coin, "apparently unpublished," in Winckelmann's own collection, issued by Antigonus I Soter [(ca. 382-301), the general who succeeded Alexander the Great as king of Macedonia]: Pan on the obverse, Apollo on a ship on the reverse (commemorating some naval victory). [Greek legend: "Of King Antigonus."]

42: Bas-relief in the Villa Borghese: the judgment of Midas on the music contest between Apollo and Marsyas in the presence of the gods and the Muses; Marsyas, at the right [in a pose often encountered] is about to be flayed by a Scythian (wearing a Phrygian cap); Midas is in the center, pleading with Apollo not to give him donkey's ears because he decided in favor of Marsyas; Pallas is in the helmet, Cybele has the lion throne, Diana holds the bow, Mercury has wings on his head, Bacchus is seated near Marsyas.

43: Front of a sarcophagus in the Villa Borghese: the fall of Phaëthon into the river Po (symbolized by the river god); the Dioscuri (Castor and Pollux: the zodiacal Gemini) flank the chariot horses, and are themselves flanked by blowing winds; among others present are Apollo (upper left) with his son Phaëthon requesting the use of the sun-chariot, and, to the right of the river god, Amphitrite (a sea goddess) and Pluto; Phaëthon's weeping sisters are being metamorphosed into trees; at the bottom left are other mourners turning into trees and Phaëthon's friend Cycnus, changed into a swan.

44: A paste in the Stosch collection: in front of a tripod on a carved drum sits the goddess Themis, who was ousted from the oracle's post at Delphi by Apollo; the sphinxes symbolize the obscurity of oracular pronouncements.

45: Gem (no location given): Melpomene, muse of tragedy, with sword, club, [and mask].

46: Copy in the Vatican library, by Pier Leone Ghezzi, from a fragment formerly in the Odam home, Rome: music contest between

Muses and Sirens (whose wings were plucked when they lost). [Ghezzi (1674-1755), a prominent painter, is most famous as the first professional caricaturist, but he had also been drawing from the antique from 1720 on; he worked for Stosch from 1740 to 1750.]

47 & 48: Sides of a triangular base (of a candelabrum?) in the Villa Albani: dancing Horae (Seasons), daughters of Jupiter and Themis (there are three different seasonal attributes); they wear crowns of palm leaves. [The headgear may be *kalathiskoi* ("little wicker baskets"), which gave the name *kalathiskos* to the dance as well; this headgear was used in many types of fertility dance; very similar dancers appear on a wide range of ancient objects from (at least) as early as the late fifth century B.C. ("Callimachus's 'Laconian dancers,' " known from copies on later reliefs) to (at least) as late as the Augustan-era Arretine-ware vessels made by Marcus Perennius.]

49: Gem (no location given): Hygeia feeding her serpent from a cup; the head on the tree is a sculptured votive object; the armor suggests that the gem was a votive offering for the well-being of a warrior.

50: Bas-relief in the Villa Pamphili, Rome: Orpheus performing in the underworld (the dog may be the infernal guardian Cerberus) to two of the Danaids (sisters condemned, for murdering their husbands, to carry water in sieves).

51 & 52: Two bas-reliefs in the Villa Albani: the infant Bacchus nurtured by the nymphs of Dodona [his mother Semele had been burned at his conception]; (no further explanation of the other figures in the two reliefs).

53: A repeated terracotta relief (a frieze?): the infant Bacchus carried in a basket by a satyr and a bacchante (or maenad; no location given).

54: Statue, somewhat over lifesize, in the Villa Albani: Leucothea (the divine aspect of Cadmus's daughter Ino) with the infant Bacchus (identified by his vase). [One of several copies (the outstanding one is in the Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek, Munich) of a statue of Peace (Eirene) holding Wealth (Plutus) made ca. 370 B.C. by Cephisodotus, who may have been the father of Praxiteles; the original stood in the Athenian agora, and may have commemorated a recent victory over Sparta; ironically, the vase on which Winckelmann based his misidentification is now considered to be an incorrect replacement in the copy for an original cornucopia; in Munich, Eirene holds a scepter in her right hand.]

55: Head of a statue of Leucothea in the Museo Capitolino.

56: Bas-relief in the Villa Albani: Leucothea and the infant Bacchus,

with nymphs; Winckelmann thought this was early Greek or Etruscan (perhaps connected with the cult of Matuta after the fall of the Etruscan city of Veii to Rome [fourth century B.C.]), and he considered the objet too primitive to include in his book except as an iconographical reference. [It has Archaic (sixth century B.C.) traits.]

57: An image of Bacchus with an old satyr (Pan?) from Winckelmann's own collection (no other data).

58: Carnelian gem, signed by the "famous" Aulos, in the collection of Thomas Jenkins [see No. 24]: head of a satyr. [Current whereabouts unknown; Aulos, son of Alexas and brother of Quintus, an artist of the first century B.C., is known for ten signed stones or pastes; the satyr in the original gem is laughing.]

59: Head of a young satyr [note the small horns] owned by Winckelmann (no other data).

60: Bas-relief in the Villa Albani: a satyr and a bacchante (do the wreathes on his staff indicate a military success?).

61: Bas-relief on a sarcophagus in the Villa Medici: the rape of the two daughters of Leucippus, king of Sicyon, by Castor and Pollux, and the ensuing fight.

62: Marble bas-relief with lifesize figures in the Villa Albani (unearthed in a Roman vineyard, ca. 1764), depicting the same combat as in No. 61; the ear of the standing figure is battered, like a boxer's, indicating that this is Pollux (known for his boxing) taking revenge for the slaying of his twin brother Castor in the fight. [The participants in this image, now known as the Albani Relief, are not considered identifiable; it is thought to be an Attic work of ca. 420-410 B.C.; the horse's tail may have been reworked in the Roman period from the representation of a river—a rare landscape at this early-Classic time. In the style of the Parthenon sculptures (hence, the dating), this may have been a gravestone.]

63: A battered ear (cf. No. 62; no further commentary).

64 & 65: White-marble vessel in the Villa Albani: the feats of Hercules; in No. 65, the development of the frieze in No. 64 (omitting Winckelmann's guesses as to the identity of some of the attendant women) shows—TOP, LEFT TO RIGHT, Virtue; the fight with the lion on Mount Cithaeron; the liberation of Theseus from Cerberus; the seated Eurystheus, king of Mycenae, who ordered Hercules's labors; the horses of Diomedes [see Nos. 68 & 69]; the fight with the hydra; the stag with bronze feet; MIDDLE ROW, LEFT TO RIGHT, the stag, the Stymphalian birds, the Erymanthian boar, the Cretan bull, the draining of the Vale of Tempe; BOTTOM: the water-god of Tempe; the

fight with triple-bodied Geryon, viewed by Pallas(?); killing the snake that guarded the apples of the Hesperides (associated with goats); fight with a centaur [Nessus?].

66: Mosaic in the Villa Albani, found in 1760 near Arpino (in the [then] Kingdom of Naples): Hercules (left) saves Hesione, daughter of Laomedon, king of Troy (the end of Troy is alluded to by the burning house) from a sea monster (a punishment: Laomedon had refused to pay Neptune and Apollo for building his city walls); the other man is the hero Telamon, the husband given to Hesione by Hercules. [Modern experts confirm the identification of the subject; the object is still in the same villa; no dating offered in my source.]

67: Marble bas-relief in the Palazzo Rondinini, Rome: Hercules in the guise of the rural deity Silvanus; was this a sign made for a religious confraternity? (see the figure of Priapus and the altar); the oxen are those formerly belonging to Geryon and brought by Hercules from Cádiz to Latium (their guard dog is also present). [The Rondinini (not “Rondanini”!) family were avid art collectors; their representative in Winckelmann’s day was the marquis Giuseppe Rondinini (1725-1801).]

68: Gem from the Stosch collection: the man-eating mares of Diomedes, king of Thrace; the king has a pail of water for them.

69: A paste gem owned by Christian Dehn [see No. 3]: Hercules, who has killed Diomedes, taking the mares; the planking indicates the floor of the stable.

70: “Etruscan” scarab in the Stosch collection: the hero holding a round object over a font(?) may be Hercules (see his club, below), either as a baker with a loaf, or else with the stone that restored his sanity after a fit of madness; or the man may even be Helenus, the prophetic son of Priam (in which case the “club” would be a scepter), holding the speaking stone that he washed in a fountain before it predicted the fall of Troy. [Some figures in ancient art hold an egg or a pomegranate as a symbol of eternal life.]

71: Bas-relief in the Villa Borghese: the birth of Telephus, son of Hercules, which is also depicted in a mural from Herculaneum [the mural, from the town’s basilica, is now in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples]; the doe that suckled Telephus is beneath the chair of his mother Auge, and a human nurse is also present; the tree may stand for the forest in which the infant was to have been left to die.

72: Marble relief (high relief for the hero) in the Palazzo Ruspoli, Rome, hard to interpret: the meeting of Telephus, fresh from a victory, with his mother Auge (he’s unaware of the relationship), who wanted

to kill him (with the sword on the wall) until she was frightened by the snake that accompanied him; a recognition scene ensued.

73: Two views of the head of the statuette in No. 74; among the Egyptian items that begin here, Nos. 75 and 77 are “imitations,” while the rest are “in the most ancient art style of that nation”[!!!].

74: Bronze statuette of Isis, after a drawing by Ghezzi [see No. 46] in the Vatican library; she has horns and the moon disc on her head and is nursing Horus; the bird [vulture] is called a “Numidian hen.” [The horns and *solar* disc originally belonged to Hathor (also a maternal goddess, often shown with her little son Ihy), but Isis had appropriated them at least by the late Dynastic period; countless statuettes of Isis similar to this one were mass-produced from (at least) late Dynastic and Persian times (ca. 600-300) to (at least) Ptolemaic times (300-30).]

75: Fragmentary bas-relief rendered in a drawing owned by the Commendator del Pozzo; an “imitation” from the Roman Imperial era: LEFT TO RIGHT: a mother (an empress?), her son, and Isis with folded wings. [The owner of the drawing may very well have been Cosimo Antonio *dal* Pozzo (died 1740), from a family of collectors; some of his holdings were acquired by Cardinal Albani.]

76: Fragment of a lifesize white-marble relief in the collection of the Collegio Romano [the Jesuit college in Rome, founded in the sixteenth century]: a bird’s head. [The ibis-headed god of wisdom Thoth.]

77: Gem in the Stosch collection: Harpocrates, “god of silence,” identified with Horus, son of Isis, and representing the sun. [“Harpocrates” was how the Greeks heard the Egyptian words that meant “Horus as a child”; the childish finger-to-lip gesture was misinterpreted by the Romans as a signal to be silent; the shaved head with the long sidelock was an Egyptian hairstyle for children; the Greeks took Harpocrates to be a god of sunshine and fertility.]

78: A human-handed sphinx from the obelisk in the Campus Martius, Rome.

79: A red-granite sculpture in the garden of the Palazzo Barberini: a pharaoh with crown and scepter; the baldachin is formed of vulture’s wings. [The centaur is not traditionally Egyptian, and points to syncretism in the Ptolemaic or Roman era; the type of ostrich-feather crown shown is very ancient; the symmetrical design on the throne depicting men binding plants refers to the unification of Upper and Lower Egypt that consolidated the monarchy.]

80: Intaglio depicting a female centaur nursing a child (no further data). [The engraving appears in this place because Winckelmann was

prompted by the (non-Egyptian!) centaur in No. 79.]

81: Drawing from an impression of a gem owned by Robert and James Adam in England; hard to interpret, it's inscribed "The god's forethought": Providence as exemplified by Prometheus? The climbing boys may symbolize the idly curious who strive to learn the secrets of Providence; the cornucopias may symbolize the rewards of human forethought; OR ELSE, the whole thing may represent the Nile and its cubits [the measurements of its annual rise, as symbolized by children]. [The Adam brothers (Robert, 1728-1792; James, 1730-1794) were outstanding Scottish architects and interior designers. Robert had published ancient remains; see earlier in this Introduction.]

82: Marble bas-relief in the Villa Borghese: Prometheus fashioning man, or Vulcan fashioning Pandora; standing by are Venus, a daughter of hers (a Grace?), and another goddess; the women's heads and the doorway are restored.

83: Bas-relief in the Palazzo Spada, Rome, with almost lifesize figures: Cadmus, founder of Thebes, with a friend, kills the serpent that guarded the fountain Dirce; the woman is Cadmus's wife Harmonia.

84: Scarab in the Stosch collection: Perseus with the head of Medusa; his name appears in its Etruscan form.

85: A relief on the façade of the Villa Borghese, the figures identified as Zethus, Antiope, and Amphion (the inventor of music): the two men were sons of Antiope, a Theban princess; they avenged her mistreatment at the hands of a jealous woman; this relief was based on a more famous one with Mercury taking Eurydice away from Orpheus and leading her back to the underworld. [Of different extant versions, the one in the engraving is now in the Louvre; the inscriptions are now considered an error—the figures do represent Hermes, Eurydice, and Orpheus. (A version in the Villa Albani has no written identifications.) Roman copy of an original of ca. 420 B.C.]

86: Sarcophagus relief in the Villa Albani: the death of Alcestis (voluntarily taking the place of her husband Admetus); her children and household surround her. [In the 1767 volume, this engraving was numbered 73 as well as 86.]

87: Bas-relief in the Villa Albani; hard to interpret: Meleager persuaded by his wife to defend his besieged city? [highly conjectural].

88: Drawing of a relief (no further data; "hard to interpret") containing a medallion of Meleager killing the Calydonian boar; this

suggests that the main subject is one version of Meleager's death (in his battle with the Curetes [of Crete]); at the left, he fights his besieging uncles near a funerary column; in the center and at the right, his military funeral.

89: Relief in the Villa Borghese: Niobe, with her children being killed by Apollo and Diana, in envy of the great number of Niobe's progeny, of which she had pridefully boasted; she and her husband are at the extreme ends.

90 & 91: Bas-relief in the courtyard of the Palazzo Lancellotti, Rome: Medea's revenge for Jason's perfidy. In No. 90, from a drawing in the Albani collection, is shown the wedding of Jason and his new bride Glauce (at the left, with Juno between them); at the right, the seated Glauce receives gifts (which will prove fatal) brought by Medea's children—a golden crown and a poisoned robe. In No. 91, from a rediscovered extension of the same relief (no location given), Glauce is seen in pain (her father is behind her); next, Medea is about to kill her children, to spite Jason; at the right, she escapes in a dragon-drawn chariot.

92: Marble bas-relief in the Villa Pamphili; hard to interpret: the story of Alope. In the center, on the throne, is Admetus receiving Alcestis back from the underworld (an intrusive motif); at the left, Alope silences the mare that suckled her baby (born in secrecy); the shepherd who cared for the baby is brought before the king, Alope's father; at the right, Alope is changed into a spring (and her grown son learns of his birth from his old nurse?).

93: Bas-relief on the façade of the Villa Borghese: Pasiphaë (seated at the left) with a cupid, talking to a cowherd(?); two images of the wooden cow [made by Daedalus so she could mate with the bull she longed for]; Daedalus (in cap) and a helper, as a cowherd watches; a man with a sponge rubbing down the cow; the shamefaced Pasiphaë with another putto.

94: One of eight marble bas-reliefs with half-lifesize figures in the Palazzo Spada; found in the seventeenth century at S. Agnese Fuori le Mura, Rome, where they had been used as steps: Daedalus (in cap) pats the bull from the sea, which is led by Pasiphaë, who is smitten with it.

95: Bas-relief in the Villa Albani: Daedalus making wings for himself and his son Icarus in order to escape from Crete. [Marble; subject confirmed; still in the Villa Albani; Roman, second century A.D.]

96: Bas-relief in the Villa Albani: LEFT, the future parents of

Theseus at Troezen, discussing the pregnancy (the maidens at the right can't be explained); CENTER, the sixteen-year-old Theseus lifts the rock that concealed his father's shoes and sword, thus identifying his father as Aegeus, king of Athens.

97: An intaglio lost from the Farnese collection: Theseus regrets having killed a savage woman.

98: Vase in the Vatican library, and its main image: Theseus punishing the inhospitable robber Sinis, who tied men to trees, then released the trees so the men were torn apart; the hero with the javelin is Theseus's inseparable friend Pirithous.

99: Vase owned by Mr. Jamineau, British consul at Naples, and its main image: Theseus holds the ball of thread given to him by the Cretan princess Ariadne so he can find his way out of the labyrinth.

100: Vase owned by the painter Mengs [see earlier in Introduction]: Theseus killing the Minotaur. [The adventures of Theseus were popular in Attic black-figure vase paintings from ca. 560 B.C. on, especially because the Athenian tyrant Pisistratus (ca. 600-527) identified himself with that local hero; Winckelmann doesn't discuss the figures below.]

101: Carnelian scarab owned by the Baron von Riedesel (no location given): Theseus (part of his name is engraved in its Etruscan form) jailed by the king of Epirus after failing to abduct the queen(?).

102: Section of a bas-relief sarcophagus in the Villa Albani: Phaedra [Theseus' wife] in love with her stepson Hippolytus, who is in the center seated on a lion skin, with huntsmen and hounds around him; Phaedra's nurse hands him a billet doux from her, while Theseus shows him the accusation of attempted rape left behind by Phaedra, who has by now killed herself; at the right is the languishing Phaedra.

103: Fragment of an urn in the Palazzo Rondinini [see No. 67]: the blind Oedipus led away from Thebes by his sons; also seen is the arm of a sympathetic daughter.

104: Fragment as rendered in a drawing (no further data): Oedipus at Colonus (he has been brought to Athens by Antigone); an aged guardian is making an oblation to the Eumenides; the father and daughter hold bundles of olive branches (an expiatory offering).

105: Carnelian scarab from the Stosch collection, with "very old" Etruscan lettering: five of the seven heroes (the Seven Against Thebes) who besieged the city after the departure of Oedipus—Tydeus, Polynices [the rebellious son of Oedipus], Amphiaraus, Adrastus, and Parthenopaeus. [Photos of the original, which is in the

Antikenmuseum, Berlin, show that Winckelmann's engraving is reversed; the gem is dated to ca. 480–450 B.C.]

106: Etruscan gem (no location given): Tydeus (Etruscan form of his name is inscribed); Winckelmann deemed this the finest Etruscan gem. [The engraving is reversed; this scarab, dated to the first quarter of the fifth century B.C., the late-Archaic period, is now in the Staatliche Museen, Berlin (was it a Stosch gem bought by Frederick the Great?); just over a half-inch high, it is now considered to depict a generic athlete cleaning off the caked oil, dirt, and sweat on his leg with a curved scraper (*strigil*); the prestigious name of Tydeus was gratuitously added to what was a stock Greek motif.]

107: Gem from the collection of Christian Dehn [see No. 3]: Tydeus mortally wounded during the siege of Thebes.

108: Drawing by Ghezzi [see No. 46], in the Vatican library, of a terracotta fragment: though there's not enough left for a firm identification, it may depict Amphiaraus and his wife [extremely conjectural!].

109: In the Villa Albani (no further data): a dying (Argive?) king (note his diadem)—Capaneus at Thebes? (No Greek king died at Troy, so the Trojan War is ruled out.)

110: Marble bas-relief in the Palazzo Mattei, Rome: Thetis consents to wed Peleus (there had been a prophecy that her son would be greater than his father, so she was avoided by fellow immortals); the armed warrior in the center is Peleus, who is walking toward the sleeping Thetis (who was reluctant to marry a mortal); the lion at his feet symbolizes her elusive transformations; seated behind Peleus are Proteus (who favored his suit) and Thetis's father; at the far left is Amphitrite, wife of Oceanus, with the zodiac above her; the old man lowering a torch toward Thetis may be Morpheus; the nude woman at the lower right is the Earth; at the far right is Juno, goddess of marriage; an assortment of other gods can be seen in the entire back row of figures.

111: Sarcophagus in the Villa Albani: the wedding of Peleus and Thetis (they are at the far right); the gods bearing gifts are (right to left) Vulcan (sword and shield), Pallas, the four Horae, Hymenaeus, Hesperus, and Themis; in separate engravings, below, are Neptune and an amorino on a dolphin. [The location and subject of this "very well-known" sarcophagus are confirmed; it is considered a late work (third century A.D.? even later?) and has been called "one last version" of the subject.]

112: Gem once owned by the gemcutter Natter: prince Paris of Troy

as a shepherd. [Johann Lorenz Natter (German; 1705-1763) was active in many parts of Europe at various times; for a while he was employed by Stosch.]

113: Colored drawing, in the Vatican library, by Francesco Bartoli [see No. 18], of an ancient object: Pallas, during the famous beauty contest judged by Paris, offers him political power.

114: Another Bartoli drawing [see No. 113]: Paris and Helen in love; she hands a bow to Cupid (to shoot Paris with); the standing woman may be Peitho, the goddess of persuasion [iconographically associated with this pair of lovers].

115: Bas-relief owned by the Duke Carafa Noia in Naples: same subject as No. 114; the inscribed names are those of Peitho, Helen, Aphrodite, and Alexandros (Paris) [Eros is also present]. [This copy is most likely the one now in the Museo Archeologico, Naples, a Hellenistic version of an original of the fourth century B.C. (a fragment with Peitho alone is in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York).]

116: Bas-relief in the Palazzo Spada: Paris and Helen about to embark from Sparta; the bearded man represents either the local river Eurotas or the river where Helen was conceived; Paris's right hand was supplied by Winckelmann for the engraving.

117: Terracotta bas-relief (no location given; there were several copies in Rome): Paris abducting Helen.

118: Gem from the Stosch collection: the Greek archer Philoctetes, on his way to the Trojan War, bitten by a snake at an altar and thus compelled to remain on the island of Lemnos.

119: Another Stosch gem: Philoctetes as portrayed in Sophocles's play of that title, in rags with a sore leg. [Sophocles (ca. 496–ca. 405 B.C.).]

120: Bas-relief owned by Winckelmann; hard to interpret: Philoctetes [highly conjectural], or else an emblematic image of a generic warrior sacrificing to Pallas; the winged female is a combination of Hygeia and Victory(?).

121: Paste gem from the Stosch collection: on their way to Troy, the Greeks stopped in Mysia, where Nireus, the second handsomest among them, killed the local queen, wife of Telephus; the bird may be a carrion crow.

122: Paste gem from the Stosch collection: in the fray that followed the events in No. 121, Achilles wounded Telephus, and only the rust from the same lance could cure him; here, reconciled, Achilles cures

Telephus, the bystanders are the physician sons of Aesculapius [Asklepios].

123: Bas-relief, one side of a funerary urn in the Palazzo Barberini: Protesilaus and his wife Laodamia; he was the first Greek killed at Troy (as the Greeks were disembarking); LEFT TO RIGHT, Protesilaus lying dead on the shore; Laodamia asking Mercury to restore him to life for three hours; their interview after this is done (center); her sadness after his final departure; he reenters the boat of Charon, ferryman of the underworld river Styx.

124: Bas-relief in the Villa Borghese: Achilles angry with Agamemnon [for appropriating his slave girl]; Achilles is in the center; Agamemnon is seated at the right, his brother Menelaus at the left, with Ulysses [Odysseus] behind him.

125: Carnelian scarab owned by Christian Dehn [see No. 3]: Peleus (whose name is engraved in its Etruscan form) washing his hair. [Exactly the same pose, over a similar basin, is held by a nude girl on a narrow electrum ring (of the later fifth century B.C.?) in the Moscow Historical Museum.]

126: Gem signed by Teukros (owner unknown): Achilles sulking(?) [Teukros worked in the Augustan era (ca. 30 B.C.–A.D. 14); this may well be a forged attribution.]

127: From a drawing of a fragmentary bas-relief (no further data): Machaon [a Greek wounded in the fighting at Troy] is tended by Nestor, who offers him a restorative in a cup.

128: Gem in the collection of the Duke (or Prince) of Piombino (“one of his best”): the battle over the body of Patroclus [friend of Achilles who borrowed the great hero’s armor to fight while Achilles was on a “sitdown strike”]; Hector [the chief Trojan warrior] makes it possible for Hippothous to lasso Patroclus’s leg in order to drag him away; others present are, LEFT TO RIGHT, Aeneas and three Greeks—Ajax the Lesser, Idomeneus, and Meriones.

129: Fragment of a cameo owned by Countess Cheroffini, Rome: Achilles mourning for Patroclus; the bad news has been brought by Antilochus, the standing man.

130: Bas-relief in the Palazzo Mattei: a more complete version of the scene in No. 129; Achilles has more attendants.

131: Vase in the Vatican library: Thetis, mother of Achilles (below, on a sea horse), brings him new armor to replace the armor lost with Patroclus; Achilles is in the center, above, with four companions.

132: Bas-relief in the Villa Borghese: Achilles arming for his

decisive fight with Hector; Ulysses is at the left.

133: Etruscan dish (“great Etruscan art”) in the collection of Thomas Jenkins [see No. 24]; inscribed with the Etruscan names of Mercury (holding the scales), Achilles (in the left dish of the scales), Hector (in the other), and Apollo, who now abandons Hector; the scene represents the weighing of the two champions’ destiny before their combat.

134: Bas-relief in the Villa Borghese: Priam, king of Troy (at the right) begging Achilles to release to him [for proper burial] the body of his son Hector, which Achilles had been dragging behind his chariot; the ransom goods are at the left.

135: Bas-relief in the Villa Borghese: Hector’s body brought back to Troy, among numerous mourners; prominent at the right are Andromache, Hector’s widow, and their son Astyanax; the man kneeling at the left is probably Priam.

136: Broken marble bas-relief excavated near Frascati on the grounds of the Grottaferrata monastery and placed in the abbot’s palace: “hard to interpret,” but tiny clues led Winckelmann to identify the scene as the burial of Hector [risky conjecture].

137: Marble bas-relief in the Villa Borghese (the original is one long, narrow band): the Amazons in the Trojan War [after the death of Hector, they joined the Trojans]; TOP, LEFT TO RIGHT, Andromache with Astyanax, with Queen Hecuba [Hekabe] of Troy behind her, and Priam welcoming Penthesilea, queen of the Amazons; CENTER, behind Priam are Trojans mourning for Hector (at the right, Andromache with her son and an urn); BOTTOM, seven Amazons.

138: Bas-relief (no location given): Andromache mourning for Hector, and consoled by one of his brothers; she holds the urn with his ashes; at the right are two Amazons.

139: Funerary urn in the Villa of Pope Julius [the Villa Giulia], Rome: the death of Penthesilea, whose body is held by her slayer, Achilles.

140: Fragment of a gem (no owner given): the Greeks descending secretly from the Trojan Horse.

141: Bas-relief owned by Winckelmann: Ajax the Lesser amorously tears Trojan princess Cassandra away from the statue of Pallas where she had sought asylum.

142: Paste gem from the Stosch collection: punished by Pallas, the shipwrecked Ajax is exposed on a crag in the sea.

143: Vase in the Vatican library: BELOW, Andromache, now a

captive in the tent of Pyrrhus [aka Neoptolemus], son of Achilles, holds Astyanax while Menelaus announces the Greeks' decision that the boy must die; ABOVE, Victory preceded by Mercury, representing the victory at Troy. [Though the vase in the engraving is inscribed in Greek "painted by Alsimos," I have been unable to find that name in any standard reference work.]

144: One of four gems in the Stosch collection with this subject: Polyxena, a Trojan princess, sacrificed by Pyrrhus at the grave of his father Achilles; on the column is Psyche (or a symbol of the soul).

145: Marble bas-relief "no longer in Rome": Hecuba, more or less as she is portrayed in Euripides's play of that name; now a prisoner, she mourns for her youngest son, Polydorus, and looks at the head of the son of the treacherous Thracian king who had promised to keep Polydorus safe; the king turns away his face. [For Euripides, see No. 168.]

146: Vase in Mengs's collection: a scene from Sophocles's *Electra* in which Orestes (with his friend Pylades) stands at the grave of his father Agamemnon.

147: Bas-relief in the Villa Medici: Electra watches her mother Clytemnestra dancing to celebrate the anniversary of the day when she and her lover Aegisthus murdered her husband Agamemnon [highly dubious; there are countless reliefs of dancers].

148: Bas-relief, from a sarcophagus, in the Palazzo Barberini; hard to interpret: Agamemnon killed by Aegisthus, as Clytemnestra urges him on; Agamemnon is the bearded nude man tumbling off his chair; the standing nude men are Aegisthus and his accomplices; the dead woman is Cassandra, a Trojan prisoner of war killed on the same occasion; the sleeping boy at the far left is the then very young Orestes; the woman with the torch and snake is Clytemnestra; the horrified elderly woman is Orestes's nurse; the sleeping girl with torch and snake at the right is Electra.

149: A long bas-relief [split up into two engravings, the second without a separate number] from a sarcophagus in the Palazzo Accoramboni, Rome: Orestes among the Tauri in the Chersonesos Taurica [Crimea]; pursued by the Furies after he killed his mother, he was instructed to bring back from the Crimea the statuette of the local Diana; BELOW, LEFT, the fallen Orestes, hounded by a Fury, is helped by Pylades; ABOVE, after the two friends are captured by locals, they are to be sacrificed, but the priestess turns out to be Orestes's long-lost sister Iphigenia; BELOW, RIGHT, the friends fight their way out, and she sails away with them.

150: Bas-relief in the Rondinini collection, Rome [see No. 67]: Orestes, maddened by the Furies, aided by Pylades.

151: Silver vase owned by Cardinal Neri Corsini, Rome; found at Anzio: the trial of Orestes on the Areopagus, Athens; Pallas is casting the deciding vote, in Orestes's favor, as an accusatory Fury looks on; the unhappy Orestes is at the far left; the lady on the rock may be a resentful daughter of Orestes's victim Aegisthus; at the right are Pylades and Electra in front of an (anachronistic) sundial. [Corsini (1685—1770), made a cardinal in 1730, commissioned buildings and collected paintings and other works of art.]

152: Detail from a statue in the Browne collection, England: a torch like the one held by the Fury in No. 151; the entire statue depicts a eunuch priest of Cybele, restored to represent the Trojan **prince** Paris. [Lyde Browne (died 1787) was a businessman; his collection was at Wimbledon (statues, gems, etc.); he was a customer of the dealer Jenkins (see No. 24) from 1760 on; his collection of 80 ancient sculptures, mostly assembled at Rome by Jenkins from the Palazzo Barberini and from new excavations, went to Saint Petersburg ca. 1780.]

153: Gem from the Stosch collection: Ulysses and Diomedes.

154: Statuette in the Villa Pamphili: Ulysses handing wine to the giant Polyphemus [getting him drunk in order to escape from his cave; was this part of a sculptural group?]

155: Image (no further data) of which versions existed in both the Villa Pamphili and the Villa Albani: Ulysses escaping from Polyphemus by hiding under one of the giant's rams [an image already popular in the sixth century B.C.]

156: The same subject as No. 155, appearing twice at the handle attachment of a metal dish, engraved for a book in preparation by Gori [probably the art historian Antonio Francesco Gori, one of whose principal books was the *Museum florentinum*, published 1731-1734; Winckelmann discusses no other part of the dish.]

157: Bas-relief in the Villa Albani: Ulysses interviewing the shade of the blind prophet Tiresias in the underworld.

158: Gem from the Stosch collection: one of Ulysses's sailors, ignorantly opening the sack containing the winds [the sack had been given to Ulysses by Aeolus to help him get home; the release of the winds caused a disastrous storm].

159: Vase found at Nola, owned by Mengs: Ulysses, almost home, is transformed into an old man by Pallas (Winckelmann doesn't discuss

the Etruscan lettering).

160: Colored drawing by Francesco Bartoli [see No. 18] in the Vatican library, a copy of an ancient painting: Telemachus in Sparta (during his search for his father Ulysses), with a son of Nestor, Helen (back from Troy), and two of her women.

161: Terracotta relief in the collection of the Collegio Romano [see No. 76]: Ulysses, back on Ithaca, is recognized by faithful old servants [and his old dog Argos]; he's shutting the old woman's mouth so she won't reveal his secret presence.

162: Drawing by Ghezzi [see No. 46] in the Vatican library: a fragment, "the subject of which is unknowable."

163: Statue (no location given) found April 1761 in a vineyard near Frascati: Sardanapal(l)us (name inscribed), either the "last" Assyrian king [Ashurbanipal, reigned 669-640?], or a different Sardanapalus who wasn't effeminate; some authorities say it's Plato. [Now in the Staatliche Museen, Berlin (the inscription is much more discreet on the actual statue) and considered to be a particularly venerable form of Dionysus (a similar fragment was found in the Theater of Dionysus in Athens); it is one of the copies of an original of ca. 320 B.C.; the Berlin copy now lacks the staff and, indeed, the entire right arm until just above the elbow; those features are present on the copy in the Vatican Museums.]

164: Gem in the Stosch collection: three warriors and a vase; these are descendants of Hercules who tried to regain his lost kingdom; they are drawing lots for the apportionment of territory.

165: Fragment of a mosaic depicted in a colored drawing in the Vatican library; the drawing was formerly in the Capponi collection; the mosaic once belonged to Bianchini [probably Francesco Bianchini (1662—1729), antiquary, astronomer, papal librarian, and author of a universal history published in Rome in 1697]: the saying on the mosaic, "Know yourself," was ascribed to Chilo of Sparta [a city magistrate ca. 556 B.C.], one of the Seven Wise Men of Greece.

166: Paste gem owned by Christian Dehn [see No. 3]: Phrynon, an Athenian invader of the island of Lesbos, is caught in a net by another of the Seven Wise Men, Pittacus [died ca. 570 B.C.].

167: Paste gem in the Stosch collection: the playwright Aeschylus [ca. 525—ca. 456] killed by the tortoise dropped by an eagle [which thought his bald head was a rock that would split the shell and release the meat].

168: "Statuette" in the Villa Albani, found without head, hands, and

other parts: Euripides [ca. 480—406] with a [partial] list of his plays, in alphabetical order. [Marble; in the Louvre; no hands; Roman copy of an original of ca. 340 B.C.; no inscription “Euripides”; was the original produced for the reconstruction of the theater in Athens?]

169: Gem (no location given): Plato [ca. 427-ca. 347]; the butterfly wings symbolize the soul and its immortality.

170: Gem from the Stosch collection: a philosopher (Plato himself?) meditating on death and immortality.

171: Head of a herm in the Villa Albani: Xenophon [general and historian; ca. 435-354]; he wears the sacrificial wreath which he removed, then replaced, on hearing that his son had fallen at the battle of Mantinea [362 B.C.]. [Very risky identification; this head doesn't greatly resemble one in Cairo, now taken to depict Xenophon.]

172: Statue in the Villa Albani: the philosopher Diogenes [412-323; the dog symbolizes the imputation of canine shamelessness that gave Diogenes's convention-flouting “school” the sobriquet Cynic (from Greek *kyon*, *kynos*, “dog”).]

173: Head of another statue in the Villa Albani: Diogenes again.

174: Marble bas-relief in the Villa Albani: Diogenes, in the jar he lived in, at a city gate of Corinth, telling Alexander the Great to step out of his sunlight [a legend]. [Roman work of the late second century A.D. (no further data, but conclusive photo, in my source).]

175: Over-lifesize head, in the Museo Capitolino, of Alexander the Great [356-323], king of Macedonia and conqueror of Egypt and large sections of Asia. [Location still correct; marble; a second-century A.D. copy of a Hellenistic original; the king is in the guise of the sun god Helios.]

176: Gem in the Piombino collection: the Roman general [Publius Cornelius] Scipio, dubbed Africanus [Major; 237-183]; identified by the distinctive scar on his shaved head.

177: Ancient painting in the Villa Albani, found at the foot of the Palatine hill: Augustus's wife Livia [58 B.C.–A.D. 29] and his sister Octavia [ca. 70 B.C.–11 B.C.] sacrificing to Mars (Octavia may be carrying figs).

178: Marble bas-relief owned by the English sculptor [Joseph] Nollekens [1737-1823] in Rome: a public sacrifice presided over by the emperor Vespasian [A.D. 9–79; began to reign 69], accompanied by dignitaries (there are two fasces-bearing lictors at the left); the goddess Roma is at the far right; Vespasian is acting in his imperial capacity as *pontifex maximus* (high priest). [This work, lost but known

from this engraving and from drawings (such as one in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London), is now called the Nollekens Relief; it came from the Coenatio Jovis ("Jupiter's dining room") in the Palatine-hill palace built by Vespasian's son Domitian (51—96; reign began 81; he may be the emperor depicted).]

179: Colossal head of Parian marble in the Villa Mondragone in Frascati: Antinous [110-130; the youth loved to distraction by the emperor Hadrian (76-138, began to reign 117)]. [The head is now in the Louvre; Winckelmann liked this piece even better than the relief in No. 180, considering it a work as great as the Laocoön and the Apollo Belvedere, his favorites (these statements are not in the *Monumenti*); such memorials to Antinous, who drowned in the Nile in 130, are assumed to date between then and the death of Hadrian in 138.]

180: Upper part of a bas-relief in the Villa Albani: Antinous [see No. 179] holding a lotus garland. [Marble; known as the Antinous Bas-Relief still in the same location; excavated 1735 in Hadrian's Villa, Tivoli, it appears in an engraving, published 1736, after a drawing by the famous portrait painter Pompeo Batoni (1708-1787); looted by the French invaders in 1798, it was returned in 1815 (some of the Villa Albani material then leaving Paris went to Munich instead of Rome to avoid shipping costs); long considered the finest item in the Albani collection, it was frequently published, and casts, paintings, and gems were made from it; the original shows a vertical crack at wrist level; Winckelmann opined (not in *Monumenti*) that, instead of the garland, Antinous was holding the reins of a chariot bearing him heavenward; the Cooper-Hewitt Museum in New York possesses a drawing by Carlo Marchionni (1702-1786; architect of the Villa Albani) with a project for the installation of this relief.

Engraving 180 is apparently the prize of the entire publication; with its suave hatching and stippling, it can most easily of all *Monumenti* engravings claim the title of a work of art in its own right; though it appears in its proper sequence, and its sequence number has been scratched into the engraving area, it is printed on a leaf of much heavier stock than any other, alone on its leaf, and was surely prepared separately. Moreover, it's the only engraving in the *Monumenti* to name its creators; it was drawn by Nikolaus Mosmann (born in Lorraine ca. 1727, died in Rome 1787; he had been in the papal capital since 1757; the British Museum, London, owns some 250 drawings by him after Italian artworks), and engraved by Niccolò Mogalli (born in Florence in 1723; in Rome from 1749); furthermore, a loose copy of this print appears in the oil portrait of Winckelmann (now in the Schlossmuseum, Weimar) painted in 1768 by Anton von Maron (born in Vienna in 1733, died in Rome 1808; a pupil of Mengs;

there are copies of the portrait elsewhere).]

181: Vase in the Vatican library: a pierced altar that lets libation liquids run out (no discussion of the figures or scene).

182: Terracotta figures (no location given) of two *canephoroi* (bearers of sacred baskets in honor of Pallas).

183: Bas-relief in the Villa Borghese: the examination of entrails for omens [an Etruscan and Roman practice, not Greek].

184: From a drawing of a bas-relief (no further data): two boys, in front of their mother, receiving lessons, including theatrical literature and astronomy (are those Muses at the celestial globe?).

185: Mosaic in the Villa Albani, found on the territory of the ancient city Sarsina (then in Umbria, now in Romagna): a school for philosophers or physicians (note: man with snake, vases, globe, sundial). [Still in the Villa Albani, but identified as the Seven Wise Men of Greece studying the sphere—a common visual motif. A late, restored piece.]

186: Bas-relief in the Villa Albani: funeral monument with a self-portrait of the sculptor Quintus Lollius Alcamenes with a bust (of his son?) and a woman (his wife?); a Greek-born freedman, he had served as a decurion (senator) and duumvir (one of the two chief magistrates, like the consuls in Rome) of the town where he lived. [Still in the Villa Albani; few authorities still believe that Lollius was actually a sculptor, merely a citizen in the Augustan era, shown with his wife and son; the engraving is reversed; in the original, the lettering appears, right way around, at the left, over Lollius's head.]

187: Gravestone in the Villa Albani: Claudia Italia [who died at age 30]; the scroll she holds reads, "Versed in all the arts of the Muses" (that is, all forms of music?).

188: Two views of a bronze statuette in the collection of the Collegio Romano [see No. 76]: a grotesque singer and musician whose voice was preserved by sexual infibulation; displayed at banquets as a *memento mori*(?).

189: Bas-relief in the Villa Pamphili: the deceased youth Valerianus Paterculus with a chorus of masked actors (because he liked plays, or because the theater is a symbol of life?); LEFT TO RIGHT, a man with a scepter or staff (playing a king?), a man with a club (playing a hero?) and wearing an actor's high shoes, a man holding a script(?), and a woman with a cithara; the object touched by the child may be a hydraulic organ[?].

190: Vase owned by Mengs, who bought it in Naples: Jupiter,

Mercury, and Alcmene [in the amorous adventure that led to the birth of Hercules; the vase is Paestan (that is, made in Paestum, or Poseidonia, to the southeast of Salerno) and is attributed to Asteas (or Assteas), six of whose signed vases are extant; dated to ca. 340 B.C., it depicts a scene from the popular local *phlyax* plays (illustrated on some 185 South Italian vases of ca. 350—325), which parodied myths; this vase is now in the Museo Gregoriano Etrusco in the Vatican; the woman in the window is not necessarily Alcmene, because analogous women-in-windows appear in other vase scenes where their presence is less explicable].

191: Gem in the collection of Thomas Jenkins [see No. 24]: Comedy mask on a bald man wearing an ivy wreath, and bee; the man may be the comic poet Aristophanes [ca. 448—ca. 388]; the bee is a symbol of eloquence [“bird of the Muses”; “honey on his lips”].

192: Bas-relief in the collection of Marchese Rondinini [see No. 67]: man (poet? actor?) with a tragedy mask; on the table, one tragedy and one comedy mask; the woman is allegorical (the man’s talent); is the rectangular object a sign for a play? [The man is Menander (ca. 343—291), chief author of the New Comedy (as Aristophanes was of the Old); the masks are for type-roles in New Comedy; the woman is either Menander’s beloved Glycera or a personification of the stage; she appears in this Augustan-era copy, not in the earlier copy in Princeton, N.J.; the marble relief is “now in the Lateran Museum” (incorporated into the Vatican Museums in the Pope Paul VI building?); a surviving original base, inscribed with the names of Menander and the sons of Praxiteles (see No. 40), belonged to a seated statue of Menander once at the Theater of Dionysus in Athens; there are some forty extant sculptural portraits of Menander.]

193: Marble statuette in the Villa Albani: a slave, typical of those in New Comedy, sent to the market with a basket.

194: Bas-relief in the Villa Albani, from an ancient grave near Tivoli: a tragic and a comic poet (the former with a goat [*tragos*], and the thyrsus and hare associated with Bacchus; the latter with a short robe and an appropriate mask); the other objects are hard to interpret; the large hoop may be a theatrical noisemaker [for “sound effects”].

195: Gem from the Stosch collection: youth with noisemakers. [Numerous vase paintings indicate that such metal hoops, propelled by a stick or paddle, were used in a running game and in gymnasium exercise.]

196: Gem owned by James Byres: youth with a hoop like the one in No. 195. [See preceding bracketed comment on use of hoop; Byres (1734—1817) was a Scottish antiquary who dealt in portable objects;

a pupil of Mengs in Rome, he also conducted excavations and worked as a guide for Britons visiting the papal capital; this gem was the (now long-lost) intaglio that Winckelmann had mentioned as early as his 1755 *Gedanken*; a copy of it appears on the clasp of a necklace (in the Metropolitan Museum, New York) by Luigi Saulini (1819–1883), where the hoop and paddle are clearly shown; copies had previously been made by others, including Giovanni Pichler (1734-1791).]

197: Drawing, from a mosaic, in Cardinal Albani's library: gladiators, a *retiarius* (net fighter) and a pitchfork fighter; their trainer holds a rod; is the old man a spectator pleading for mercy? [the word *vicit* means "beat, overcame"; with No. 198, this forms a pair of actual mosaics, of the second or third century A.D., now in the Museo Arqueológico, Madrid.]

198: [See No. 197; here, the fight is between Symmachius and Maternus Habilis.]

199: Marble relief in the Villa Pamphili: gravestone of the gladiator Bato, famous in the reign of Caracalla [176—217; reign began 211], who gave him a lavish funeral [after having him executed]; parts are restored. [Now in the Galleria Doria Pamphilj, Rome; the identification as this particular Bato is very probable; Bato was a *secutor* ("chaser"), the type of gladiator who fought a *retiarius* (net fighter); he's wearing a *subligaculum* (briefs), a *balteus* (belt), an *ocrea* (leather gaiter) on his left leg, straps on his right leg, and a torques (neck ring); he's carrying a *gladius* (short straight sword) and an oblong shield, and his helmet rests on a pole.]

200: Vase owned by Mengs: three women reclining at a drinking party, with a drunken Silenus, a musician, a cupbearer, and masks. [This Paestan vase (see No. 190) is attributed to Python, a contemporary of Asteas; here, Winckelmann's engraver really betrayed him—the original, in the Vatican Museums, clearly shows the guests as flat-chested males, presumably actors celebrating some theatrical success (each one's role-mask is directly over his head); the cupbearer clearly has a short satyr's tail; the three men are playing the popular drinking-party game of *kottabos*, in which the dregs of wine cups were flung at an unstable object to knock it down (here, the metal disc atop the lamp stand).]

201: Gem from the Stosch collection: a feast; a female genius (attendant spirit) at the left.

202: Gem from the Stosch collection: a warrior mounting his horse by means of an iron support on his spear.

203: Round bas-relief in the Villa Albani, part of a funerary urn: a

chariot for racing in the circus.

204: From an ancient painting: the Baths [*bal(neae)*] of empress Faustina [presumably the Younger (Anna Galeria Faustina, wed 145), wife of Marcus Aurelius (she lived ca. 130–176), responsible for the baths in Miletus, Asia Minor, of which walls and pillars remain in situ, with some of its statuary in the Istanbul Archeological Museum.]

205: A torso, outdoors in the courtyard of the Palazzo Farnese since the sixteenth century: a male figure (“Atlas” or “Telamon”) serving in the place of a column; basket on head.

206: Ionic capital, with frog and lizard, in S. Lorenzo Fuori le Mura, Rome; Pliny the Elder [A.D. 23—79] stated [in his *Natural History*] that this capital was associated with Spartan architects working in Rome early in the first century A.D. (Winckelmann doesn’t discuss the image on the right).

207: Marble relief in the Villa Barberini [now the Museo Prenestino Barberiniano] in Palestrina: a bireme [ship with two rows of oars]; at the poop, the image over the crocodile (symbol of Egypt) is Pallas (as a protectress); the woman in the volute may be Cleopatra [VII; 69—30 B.C.], and this may be a ship from the fleet of Mark Antony [ca. 83-30]; on the left end is a mounted warrior (could this be his grave monument?)—or is this from a votive relief placed in the temple of Fortuna in gratitude for having survived a naval battle? [The reference to Antony and Cleopatra is probably correct; the reference may be specifically to the epoch-making battle of Actium in 31; the relief, from the Temple of Fortune, is now in the Musei Vaticani, and is dated to the second half of the first century B.C.; warships were generally depicted in a historical context, and this has been called the most important surviving warship relief.]

208: Landscape painting in the Villa Albani, found on the Via Appia, five miles from Rome, ca. 1764; “like some from Herculaneum.” [It’s like many landscape murals in the Vesuvian towns and in Rome from the first century A.D., or perhaps a little earlier.]

A: [On the title page (the first “iii”) of the first volume of the *Monumenti*.] Terracotta bas-relief in the Villa Albani: the ship *Argo* [in which the Argonauts sailed] being built of wood from the forest on Mount Pelion (forest symbolized by single tree); Pallas adjusts the sail; the men may be the pilot Tiphys and the builder Argus; the building may represent the temple of Apollo at the foot of Mount Pelion.

B: [At the head of the dedication (Vol. I, first “v”).] Bas-relief in the Villa Albani: statuette of Apollo on a base, a Muse playing a cithara, Diana with bow and torch, Vesta(?) with a scepter. [In the Louvre ever

since its “liberation” by the French in 1798; marble; may have been discovered in Italy; the figures are now identified as Latona (Leto, mother of Apollo and Diana) and her children (the Apollo statuette is in an Archaic *kouros* form), and the piece is dated to the end of the first or beginning of the second century A.D.; scaled down from its larger size in its original temple; latest restoration in 2005.]

C: [On the page (first “viii”) after the dedication.] Fragment of a bas-relief frieze in the Villa Albani: winged putto with an incense box, another hand holding an incense dish; some rite is shown; from a candelabrum?

D: [At the head of the Explanation of the Unnumbered Engravings (I, first “ix”).] A bas-relief in the Palazzo Farnese, Rome, which “needs no explanation.” [A Bacchanalian *thiasos* (procession) with cymbals, thyrsi, a double flute (or, rather, double oboe), young satyr, and panther; the two-figure motif of the drunken Bacchus leaning on one of his followers was a stock motif, also appearing (for instance) on an ivory plaque of the second century A.D. in the Florence Museo Archeologico, and at the very center of a large mosaic floor still in situ in Cologne (first third of the third century A.D.); in addition, the pose held here by Bacchus reoccurs on works of many genres and eras depicting such languishing effeminates as Narcissus and Pothos (Desire)].

E: [At the end of the Explanation of the Unnumbered Engravings (I, first “xiii”).] Mosaic in the Villa Albani (no discussion). [Boat, sea creatures.]

F: [I, first “xiv.”] Lifesize statuary group in S. Ildefonso [an eighteenth-century artistic complex (also called La Granja) near Segovia, Spain; Winckelmann first said “at Aranjuez” before correcting himself]: Orestes and Pylades at the beginning of Euripides’s *Electra*, swearing vengeance (at an altar, with sacrificial apparatus) for the murder of Agamemnon; the woman in the statuette is Orestes’s sister Electra. [Now in the Prado, Madrid, and dated to the second quarter of the first century A.D. (a Neo-Attic work), this is considered to depict two unidentified friends with an archaistic *kore* (maiden) statuette; the piece is said to have been found early in the seventeenth century in the (sculpture-filled) Gardens of Sallust, Rome (initiated in the first century B.C.).]

G: [At the head of the Preface (I, first “xv”).] Bas-relief in the Belvedere Villa, Frascati: the young Achilles in Scyros; forced by his mother to cross-dress to avoid participation in the Trojan War, he was tricked into revealing his true sex when Ulysses (in cap) and Diomedes (drawing his sword) presented him with both virile and feminine

objects and Achilles seized the shield; his current local sweetheart Deidamia kneels before him.

H: [At the head of the Preliminary Treatise (I, second “ix”).] Marble bas-relief in the Museo Capitolino, in the “late early style”: three bacchantes and a satyr; the late lettering style of the Greek inscription, “Made by Callimachus” [much more discreet in the original], points to an ancient forgery of an Etruscan or Etruscan-style piece. [Still in the same place, it’s considered an original archaizing Neo-Attic work of the first century B.C., possibly portraying Pan and the Graces.]

I: [I, second “xiv.”] Gem in the Stosch collection, with the signature of Teukros [see No. 126]: satyr with garland [presumably a faked attribution].

J: [I, xxv]. Gem in the Stosch collection, signed by Solon (Augustan era): a bacchante [or nymph]. [A violet paste in Berlin (identified here from a verbal description).]

K: [I, xxxv.] Terracotta vase in the collection of the Collegio Romano [see No. 76]: a herald with a caduceus and a two-pointed spear, a white hat behind his head.

L: [I, ciii.] Gem in the collection of the Duke of Devonshire [at Devonshire House, London? At Chatsworth in Derbyshire?], signed by Sostratos: a Victory [Nike] sacrificing a bull. [Dated to the very early Roman Imperial age; now in the British Museum, London, acquired from the Carlisle collection; the Dukes of Devonshire are of the Cavendish family (presumably the owner mentioned was the fourth or fifth duke); the source of my reference mentions only the Carlisles (the earls, of the Howard family?) and makes no reference to the *Monumenti*, as it does on other occasions, so this is just possibly not the same specific object (some authorities have found it, or a facsimile, to be spurious).]

M: [I, civ.] Red-marble bas-relief in the Museo Capitolino; subject obscure: the woman at the statue of Hygeia (with her serpent and cup) may be a newlywed (because of her elegant appearance) praying for good health.

N: [On title (third) page (front matter altogether unnumbered) of Volume II.] Bas-relief owned by the Marchese Rondinini [see No. 67]: Vulcan has just struck Jupiter on the head, and is awaiting the imminent birth of Pallas therefrom. [These two figures are extremely similar to two of those on a marble wellhead, dated to the period from the second century B.C. to the first century A.D., in the Museo Arqueológico Nacional in Madrid, considered to be the most important surviving *puteal sigillatum* (wellhead with figures); another example of

“floating” motifs, possibly transmitted via copybooks?]

O: [At the head of the table of contents to the Explanation of the Plates (II, fifth page).] Bas-relief in the Villa Negrone, Rome: followers of Bacchus with grapes and highly decorated thyrsi.

P: [II, 108.] Gem in the collection of the Duke (or Prince) of Piombino, Rome, signed by Dioscourides: unknown man. [The man is now identified as the great orator Demosthenes (ca. 383—322), his face derived from a lost statue by Polyeuctes made in the first half of the third century B.C.; this amethyst from the Piombino collection was later owned by Sir Arthur Evans (1851-1941), famed excavator of Knossos on Crete (no later ownership given); Dioscourides (born in Cilicia, Asia Minor) emigrated to Rome (no period given); many gems attributed to him are forgeries.]

Q: [II, 238.] Gem formerly in the Stosch collection, “now” owned by Frederick the Great of Prussia: horse’s head, and the first three letters of a name (the artist’s?) [reading “Mith ...”].

R: [II, 284.] Female figure from a bas-relief “no longer in Rome.”

NOTES TO THE INTRODUCTION

1

The kingship of Poland was elective—that is, purchasable—and the number of voters very small and restricted. The king remained under the thumb of the all-powerful native noble class (the *szlachta*), but his position was prestigious and powerful; it demanded that the monarch be or become a Roman Catholic, but his personal religion, necessary for Poland, was not binding on his subjects in Saxony.

2

The Description was written in French, the traditionally suitable language for its subject matter; Winckelmann’s French was smoothed out anonymously, as his Italian would be later for the *Monumenti*, which was written in that language at the request of Cardinal Albani.

3

Though it’s naturally not an integral part of the publication, a degree of interest attaches even to the former owner’s bookplate in the copy of the *Monumenti* used by Dover Publications as the basis of the present edition. It is that of the Marquesses of Lansdowne (the Petty family), London (peerage created 1784), great manuscript and art collectors, and eminent public servants, for some two and a half centuries. In 1807 the purchase by the British Museum of the

manuscript collection of the first marquess added immeasurably to our knowledge of Elizabethan and Jacobean statecraft. In 1930, the “Lansdowne Marbles,” a collection of antiquities and sculptures formed largely in the second half of the eighteenth century, were sold at Christie’s in London. Among the ex-Lansdowne works now in outstanding museums, perhaps the most well-known is the Lansdowne Hercules in J. Paul Getty’s villa-museum in Malibu, purchased from the family by the oil magnate in 1951 for \$30,000.

4

This clear statement gives the lie to those over-hasty booksellers and reference-book paragraphers who, misled by the title, blithely state that the purpose of the *Monumenti* was to publish for the first time objects that had come to light recently. In fact, Winckelmann mentions a recent discovery in only a handful of cases, each of which is duly cited in our Commentary on the Engravings, the final section of the Introduction. (He includes no illustrations of pieces from Herculaneum or Pompeii.)

5

Though Winckelmann’s emphasis on mythological interpretations may have been a useful corrective in his day, he has the besetting fault of insisting on a specific mythological identification of even the most generic, anodyne images; this will become evident on perusing the Commentary on the Engravings. This fault, of course, does not vitiate his tremendous accomplishment.

6

That this was not a universal misconception even then is proved by one of the letters (February 7 Old Style, 1749) written to his natural son by Lord Chesterfield (Philip Dormer Stanhope, fourth earl, 1694-1773), in which he demolishes this notion, pointing justly to the flourishing of all the arts during the absolutistic (and, in the latter case, war-ridden) reigns of Augustus and Louis XIV (Augustus was a conscious promoter of Classic art and its imitations, in his striving to keep Rome pacified after the hectic late-Republican years. Augustus [63 B.C.–14 A.D.] became emperor [in all but name] in 27 B.C.)

7

A second edition of the *Monumenti*, with an additional volume prepared by Stefano Raffei (was his work done by 1772?), was printed in Rome by C. Mordacchini in 1821. A recent bibliography lists a 1967 reprint of the *Monumenti*, but gives no further data; unable to see a copy, I assume it’s a straight reprint of the entire

original two (or three?) volumes with no new material.

8

Varying birth and death dates for historical figures are often found in reference works; this is especially true for people of antiquity, for whom different modes of reckoning are frequently employed; the dating in this Introduction may be off by a few years.

9

Recent anti-Winckelmann stances reject his dependence on Eurocentrism and on (sometimes almost racist) notions of ethnicity (e.g., the inborn superiority of the Greeks), and his explanation of artworks through their narrative content; he is said to have been abetting the rise of nationalism in the Europe of his day, and acting as a hireling, authenticating artworks in collections to enhance their value.

10

It's important to retain Winckelmann's identifications (though time has shown a few of them to be incorrect) because not only are we trying to represent his original book, but also his identifications were the basis for the structure of his text and the sequence of his illustrations 1-208.

11

The 38 freshly identified engravings are Nos. 5, 9, 10, 36, 40, 54, 58, 62, 66, 85, 95, 105, 106, 111, 115, 163, 168, 174, 175, 178, 179, 180, 185, 186, 190, 192, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 207, B, F, H, J, L, and P.

12

Winckelmann always uses the Italian form of the Roman names of deities. I give the (normally, highly preferable) Greek names in square brackets on the first, occurrence of a name, but even then I generally use the Latin vowels in the Greek name (e.g., Hephaestus, not Hephaistos) because those forms are used in so many English-language reference books and are likely to be more familiar. (I always use normal English versions, however, when these exist, such as Helen, Cupid, Mercury, etc.)

13

A scarab was an Egyptian-influenced gem with a convex back like that of a dung beetle; technically, a gem is a scarab if the back simulates the insect; a scaraboid, if the back is plain. Winckelmann never makes the distinction.

14

Though out of favor with some recent scholars, the term Neo-Attic is still handy in referring to certain Greek art objects made from the second century B.C. onward in emulation of late Archaic and early Classic Athenian work. (Relief sculpture was the most favored medium for Neo-Attic art.)

15

Just to show how even modern experts can differ: this gem has also been dated to the late Roman Imperial era, and its subject identified as possibly being Seleucus I Nicator (355-281; became king 306), Alexander's former general who founded the extensive Seleucid Empire in Asia.

THE PLATES



1 & 2: Jupiter and Semele.

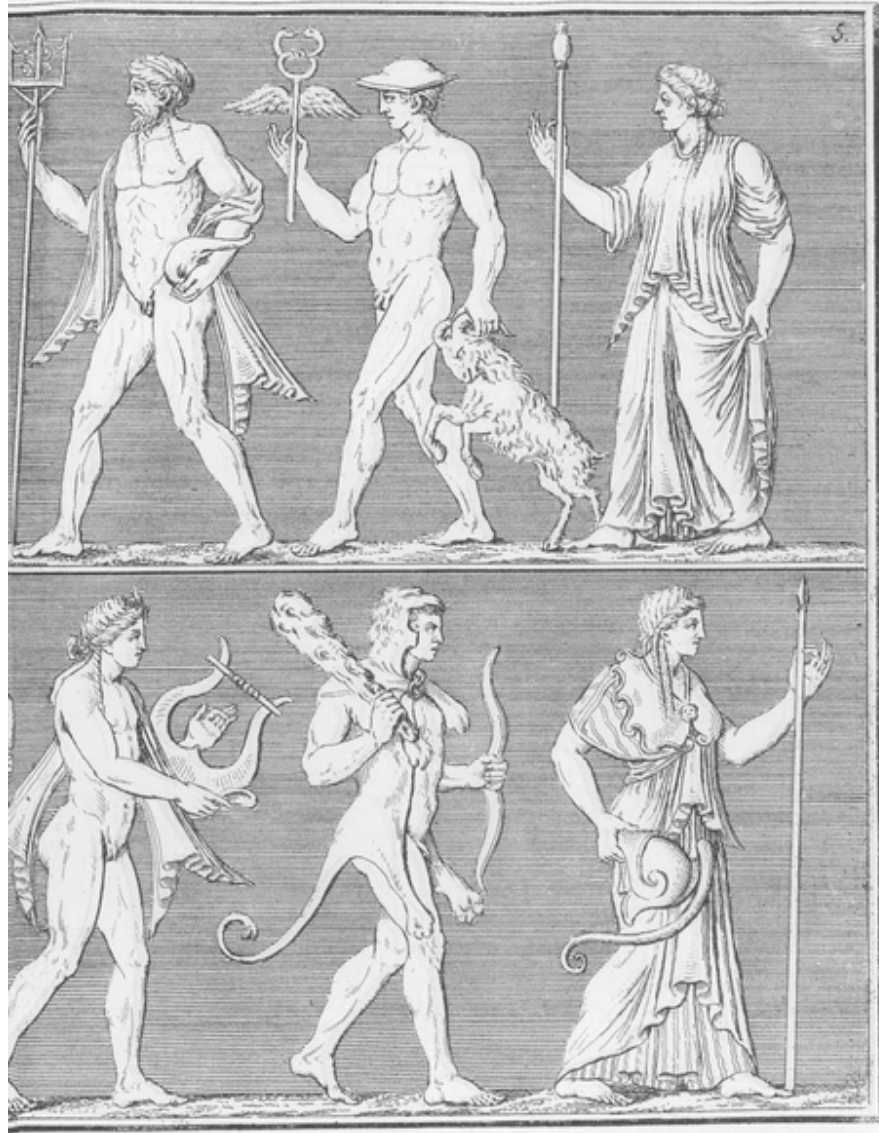


3: Neptune.

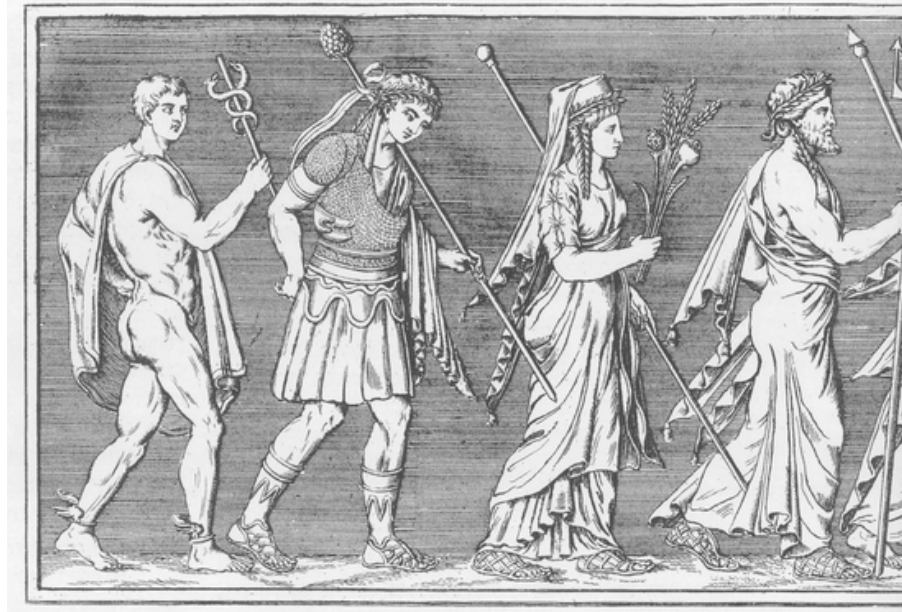


4: Mars and a Titan.

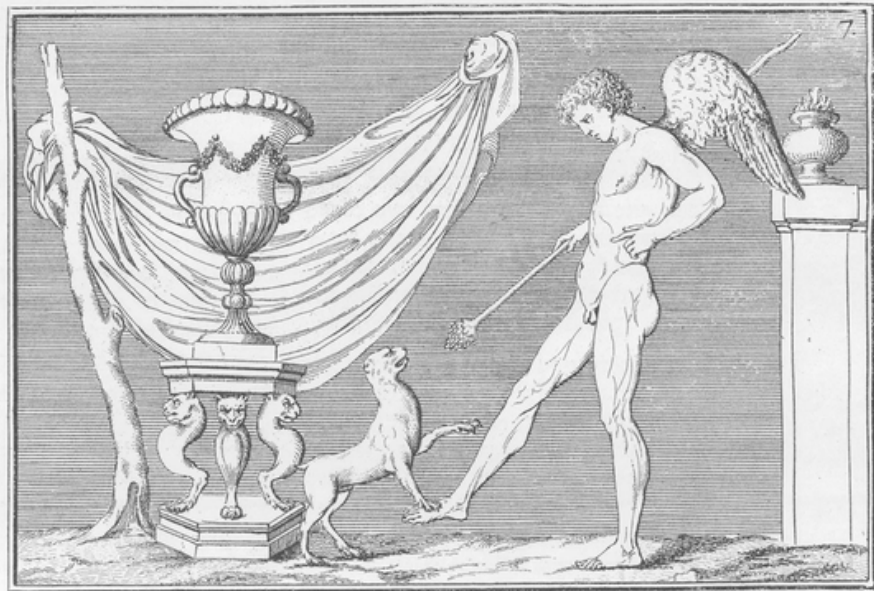




5: Twelve major deities.



6: *Eight deities.*



7: The “genius” of Bacchus.



8: *Cybele.*



9: Jupiter and his eagle.



10: Jupiter assailing the Giants.



11: Jupiter riding a centaur.



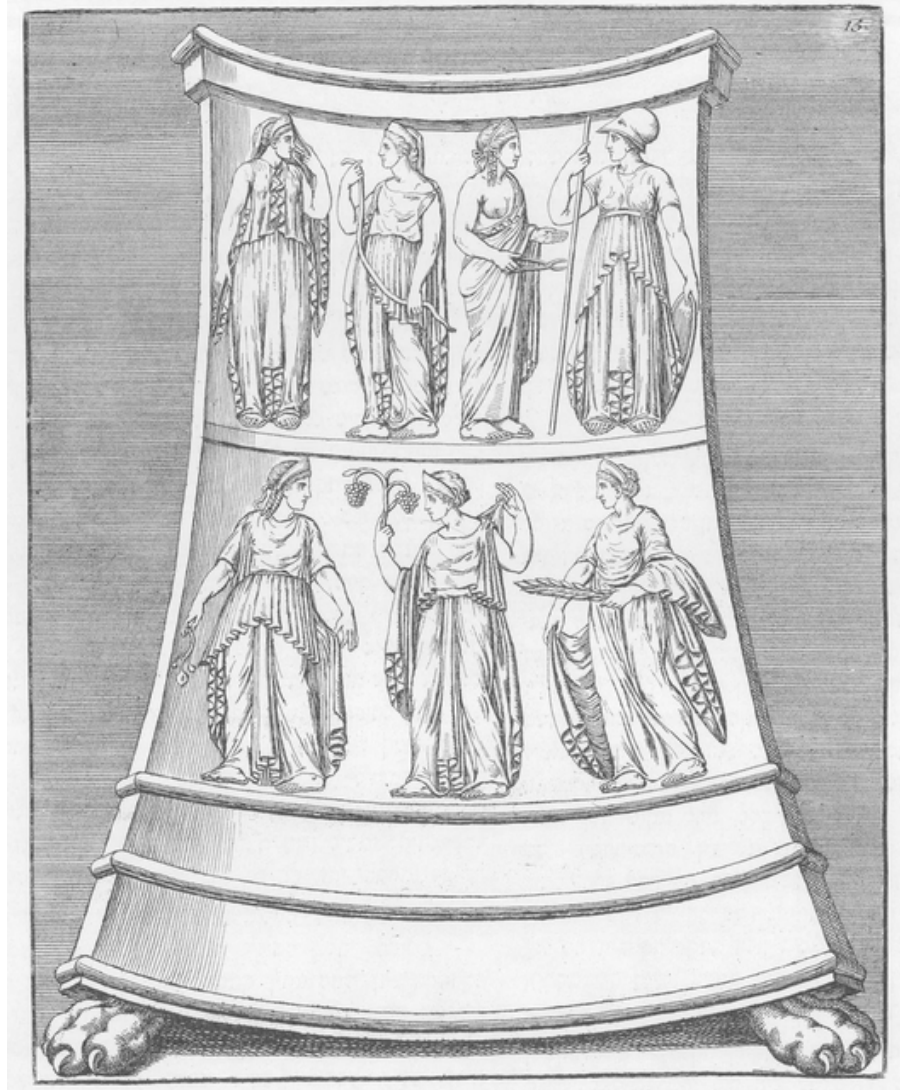
12: Jupiter and two flies.



13: Jupiter in the form of a fly.



14: Juno nursing Hercules.



15: Juno with tongs, and other figures.



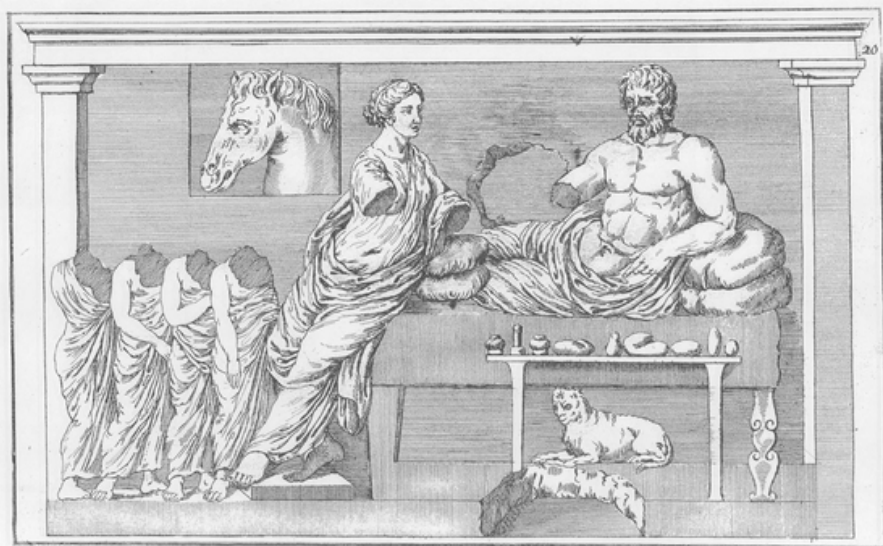
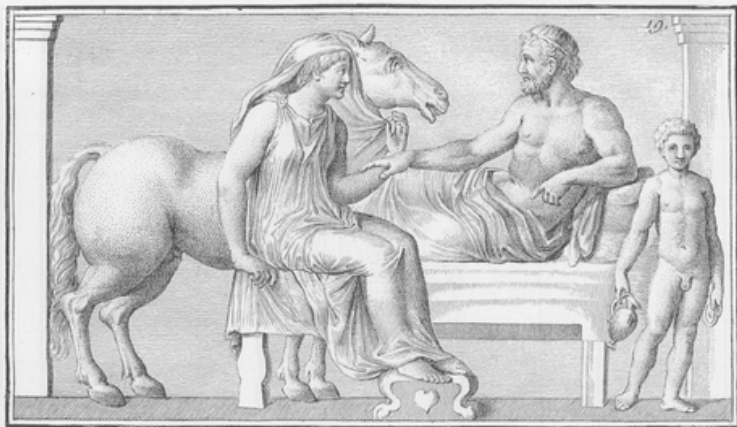
16: Hebe (far right) and other deities.



17: Pallas (Minerva).



18: Pallas as musician, with other figures.



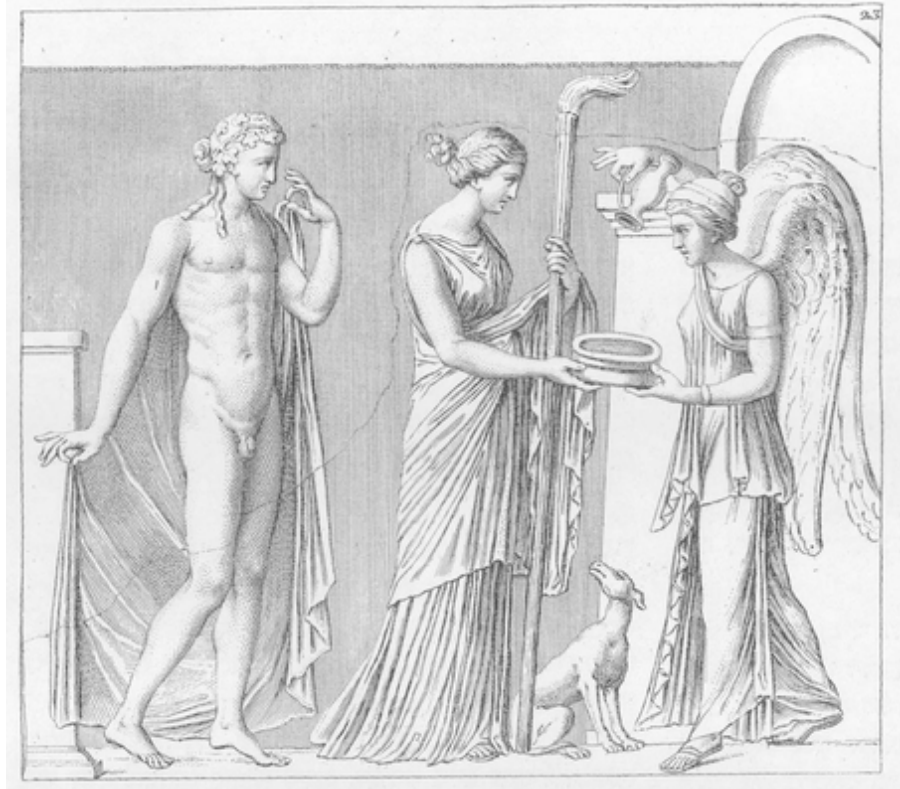
19 & 20: Ceres, Neptune, and the horse Arion.



21: Diana as the moon, and astronomical figures.



22: The sun and the moon in a ship-borne chariot (on neck of vase).



23: Diana and other figures.



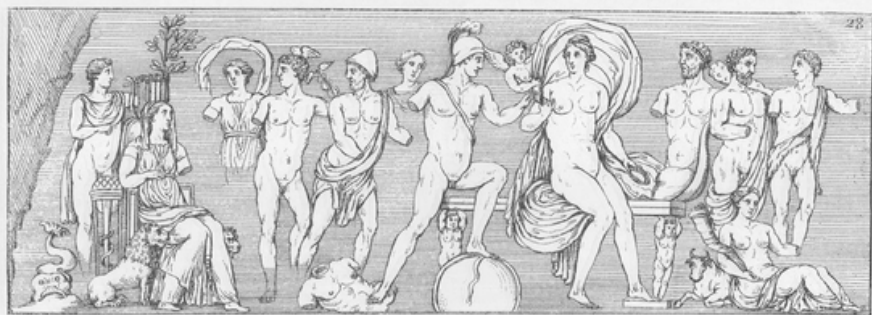
24: *Narcissus.*



25: Nemesis.



26: Modesty (or Justice) fleeing the evil Earth.



27 & 28: The adultery of Mars and Venus discovered.



29: Statuette of Bellona, and other figures.



30: Venus.



31: Venus, Cupid, and handmaidens.



32: Cupid with keys.



33: Allegory of unrequited love, enacted by amorini.



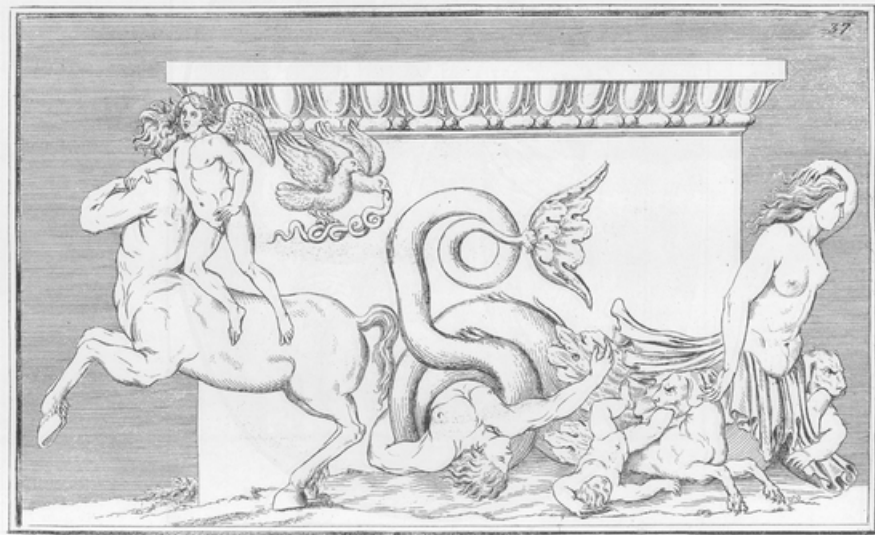
34: *Psyche and a baby Cupid.*



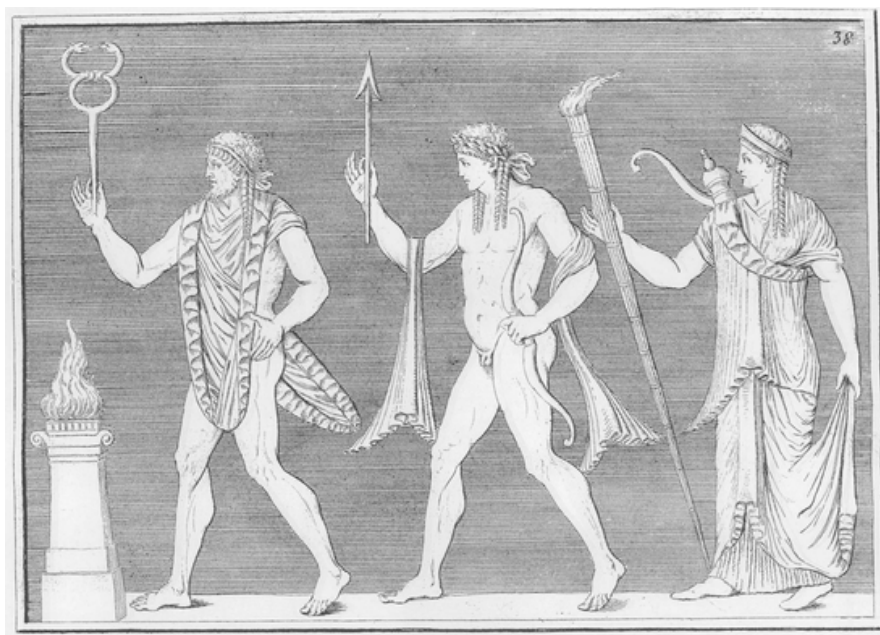
35: A triton.



36: *Polyphemus.*



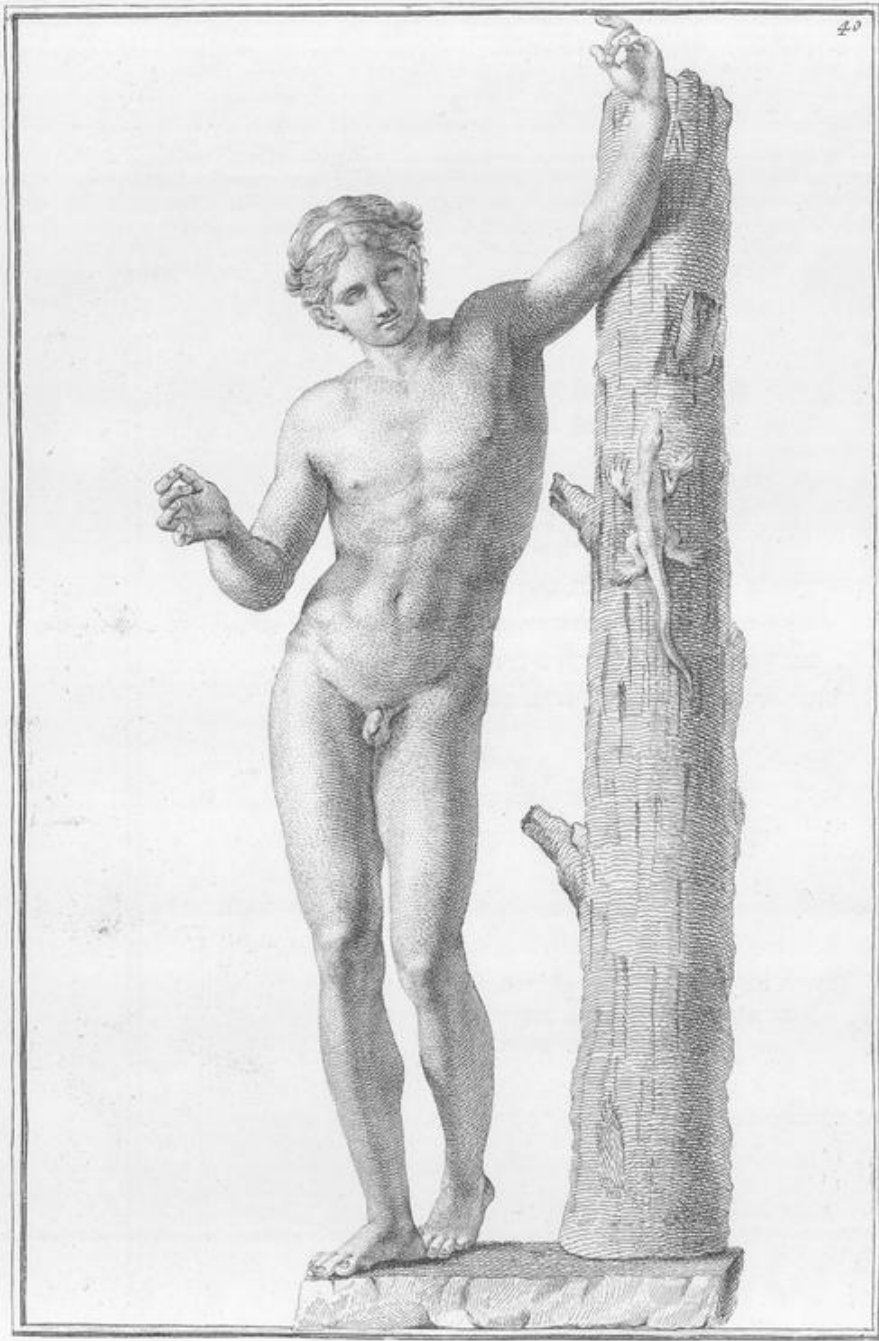
37. Scylla (at right).



38: Mercury, with Apollo and Diana,.



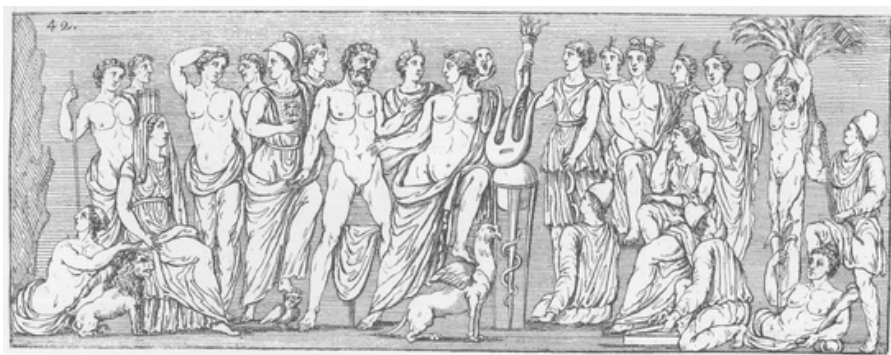
39: Mercury, with a tortoise.



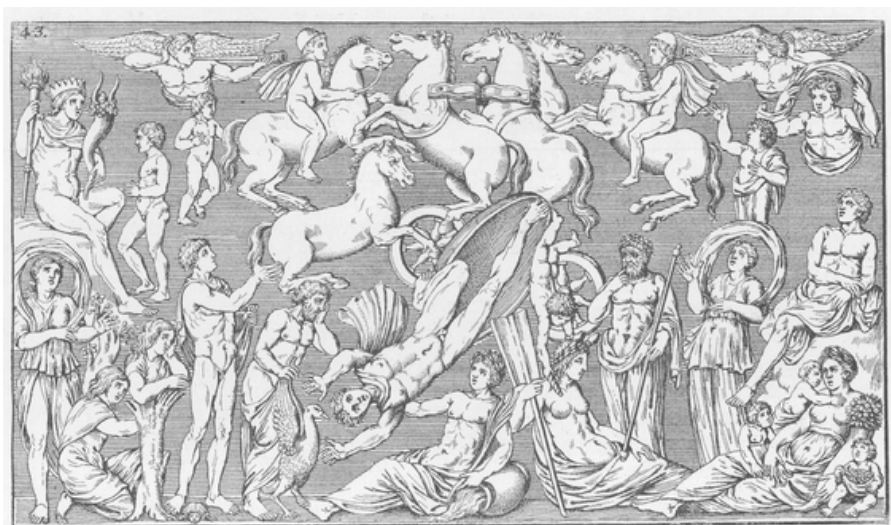
40: Apollo Sauroctonus (lizard-killer).



41: Coin with Pan and Apollo.



42: Group with Apollo, Midas, and suffering Marsyas.





44: *Themis as an oracular deity.*



45: *Melpomene, muse of tragedy.*



46: *Muse and Siren.*



47 & 48: Dancing Horae (Seasons).



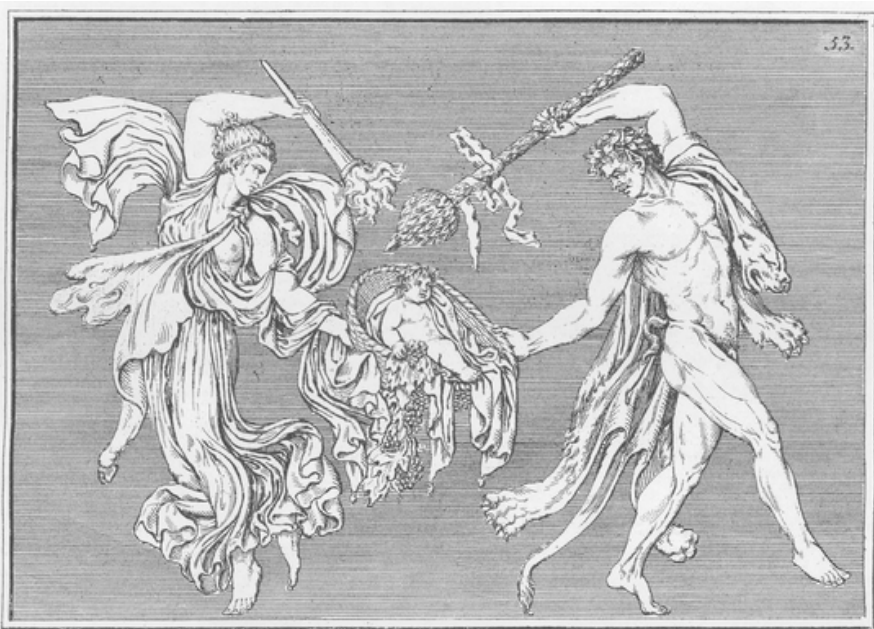
49: *Hygieia.*



50: Orpheus and two Danaids.



51 & 52: *The infant Bacchus raised by the nymphs of Dodona.*





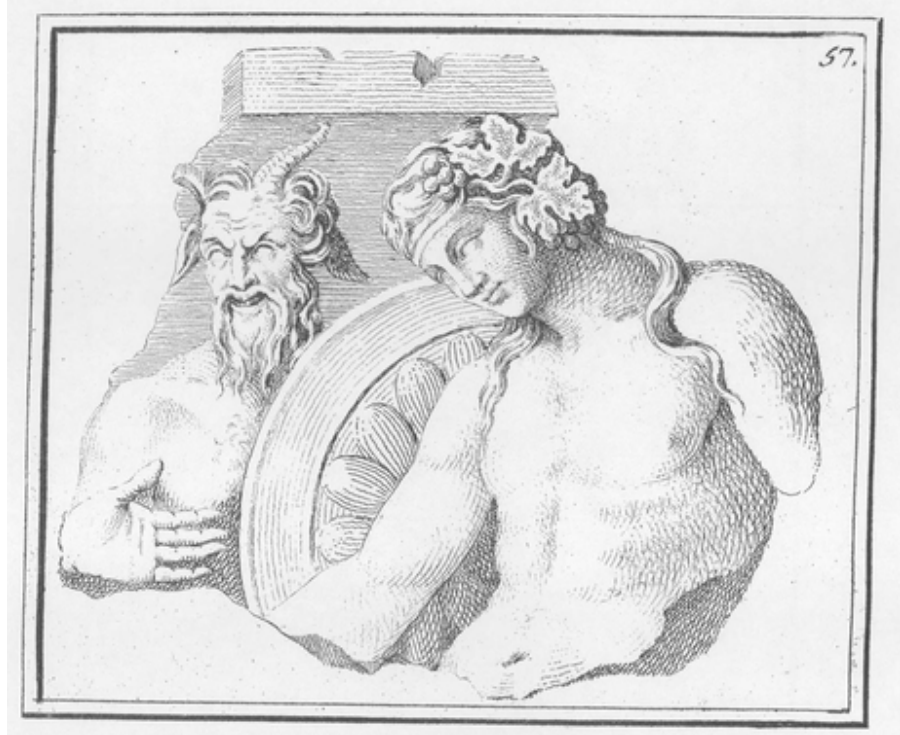
54: *Leucothea (Ino) with infant Bacchus.*



55: *Leucothea.*



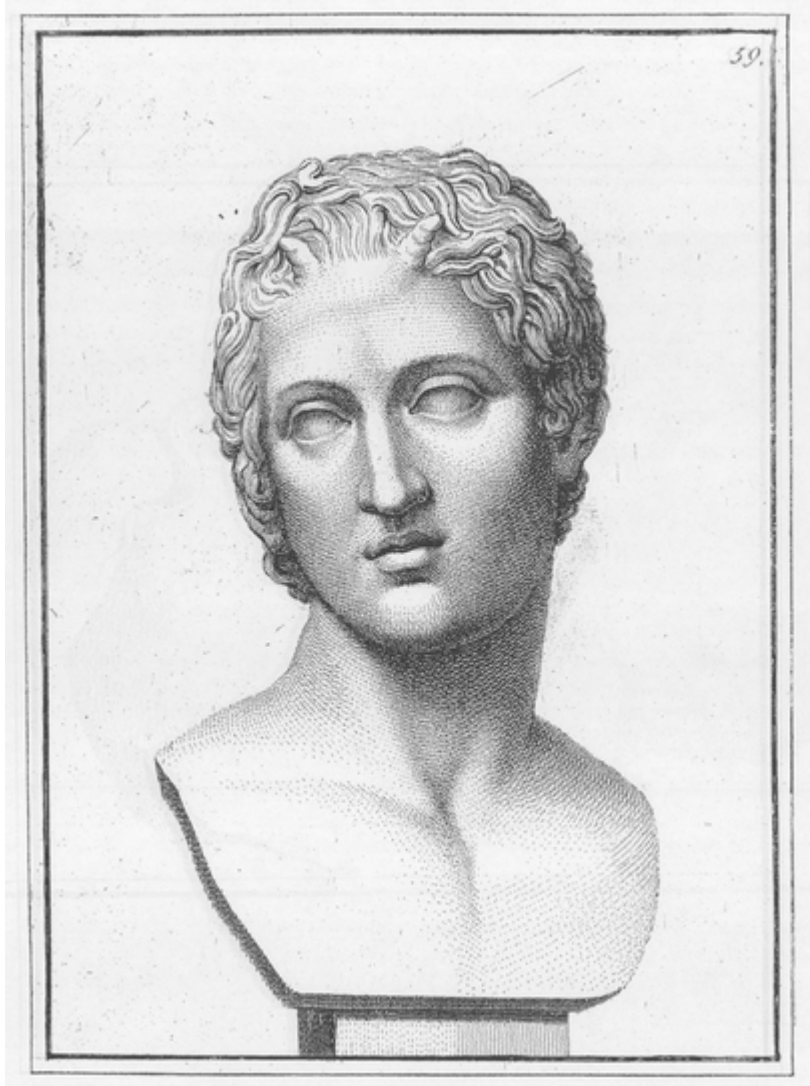
56: *Leucothea, infant Bacchus, nymphs.*



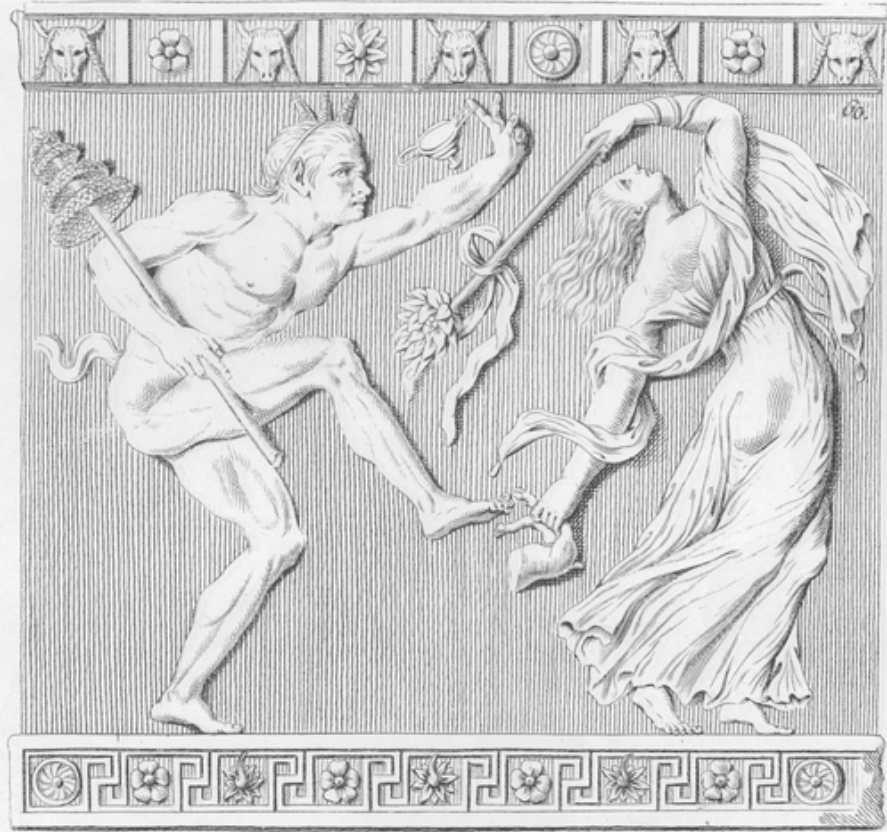
57: Bacchus and satyr.



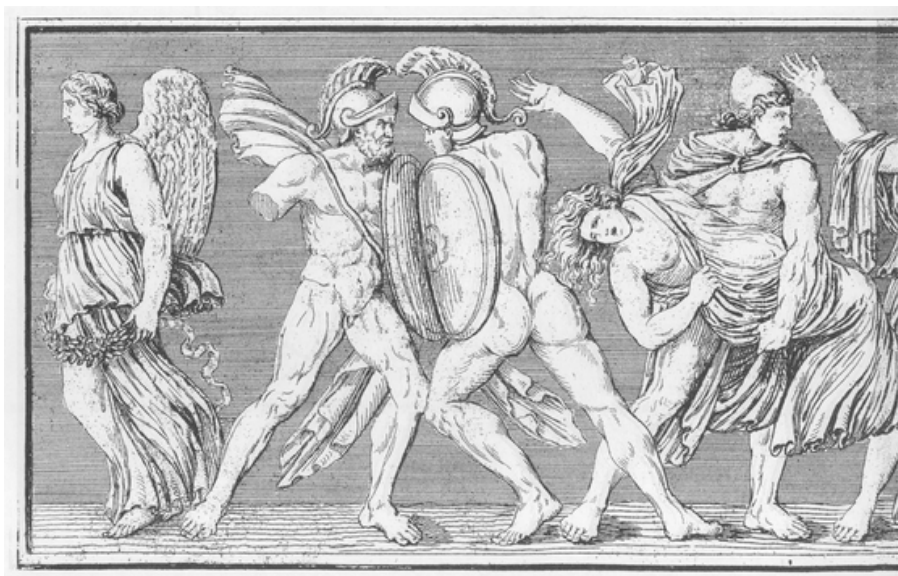
58: Head of satyr.



59: Head of young satyr.

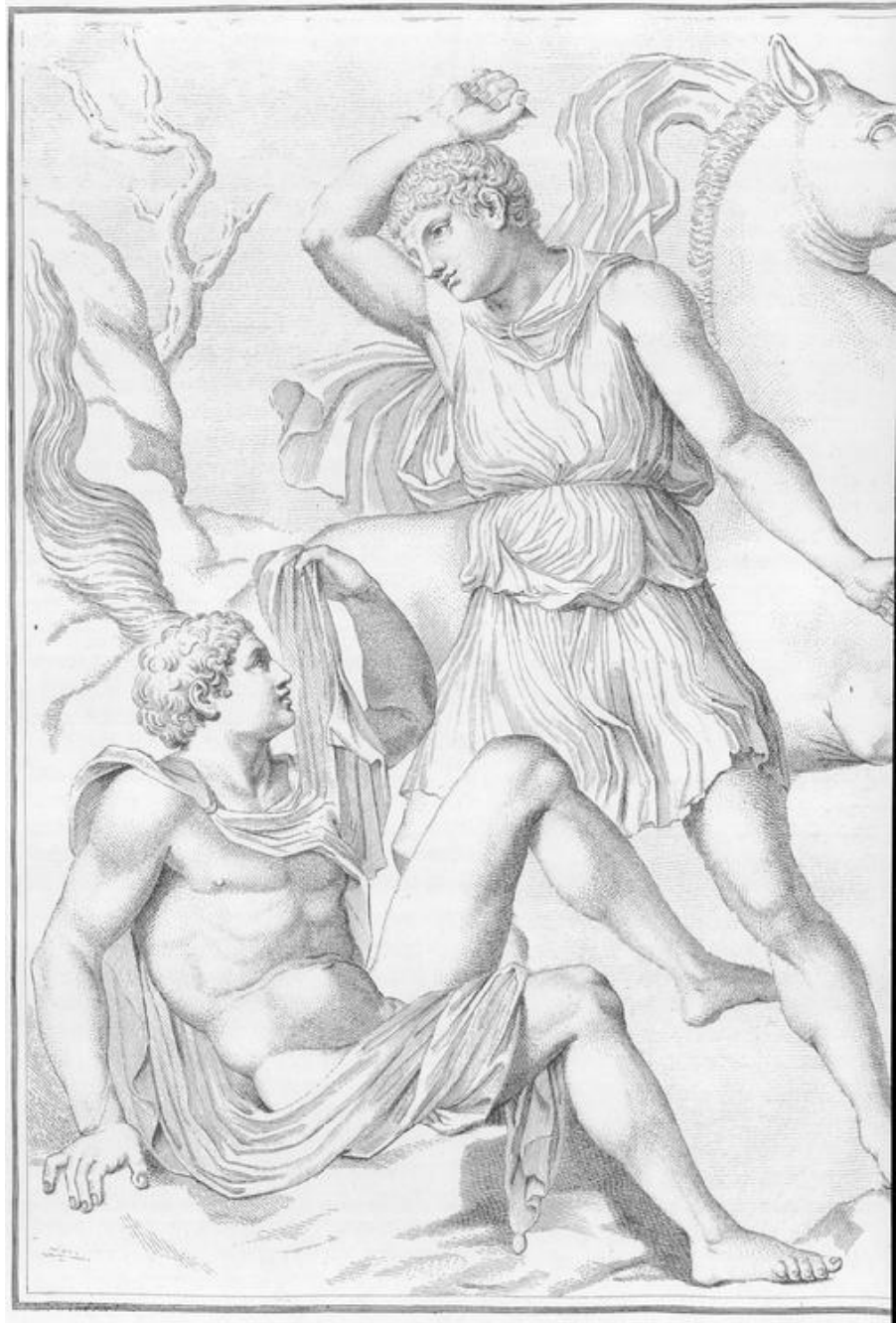


60: Satyr and bacchante.





61: Castor and Pollux abduct the daughters of Leucippus.





62: Pollux avenges his brother's death.



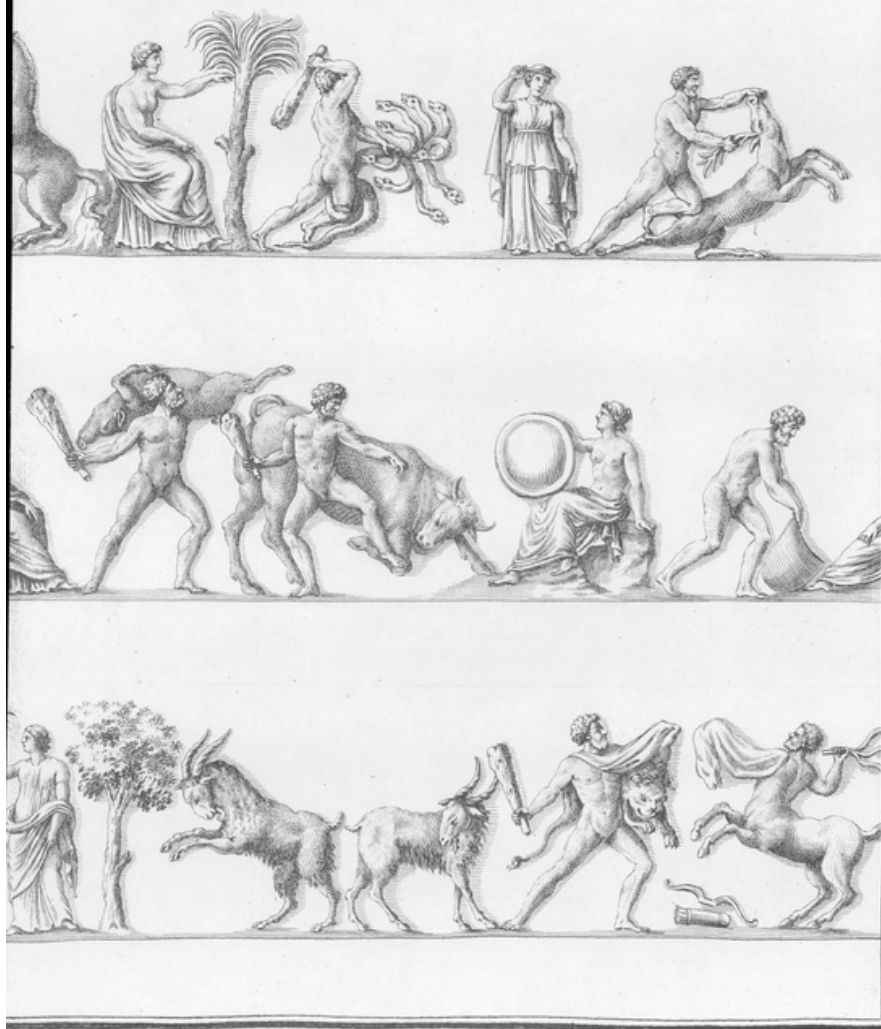
63: *An athlete's battered ear (see commentary to No. 62).*





64: *Marble vessel with exploits of Hercules.*





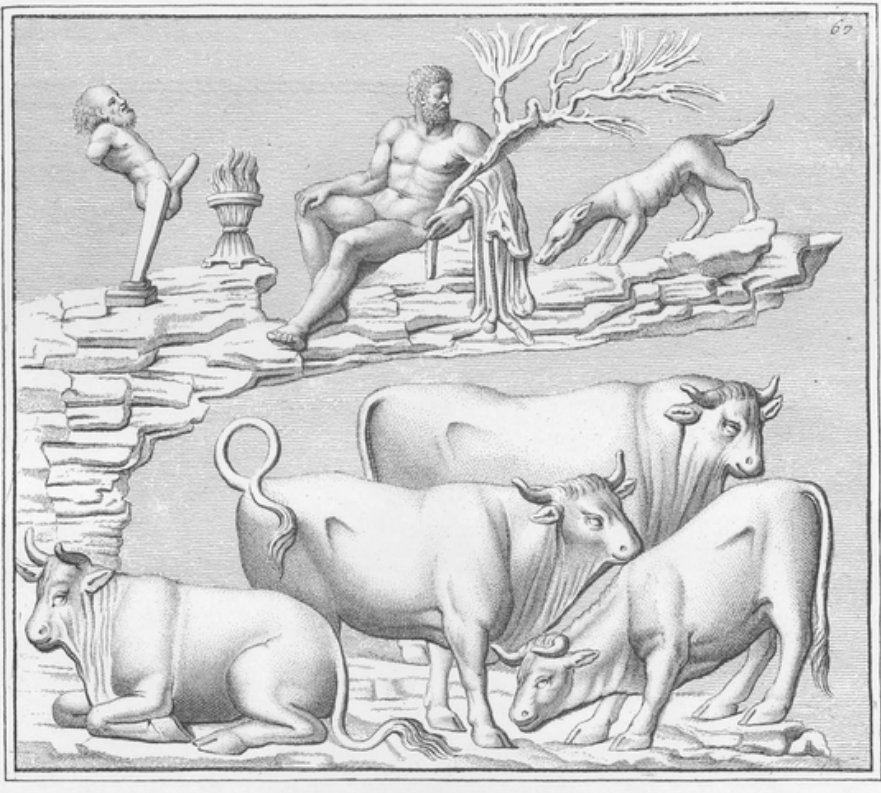
65: All the sculptures on the vessel in No. 64 (exploits of Hercules).



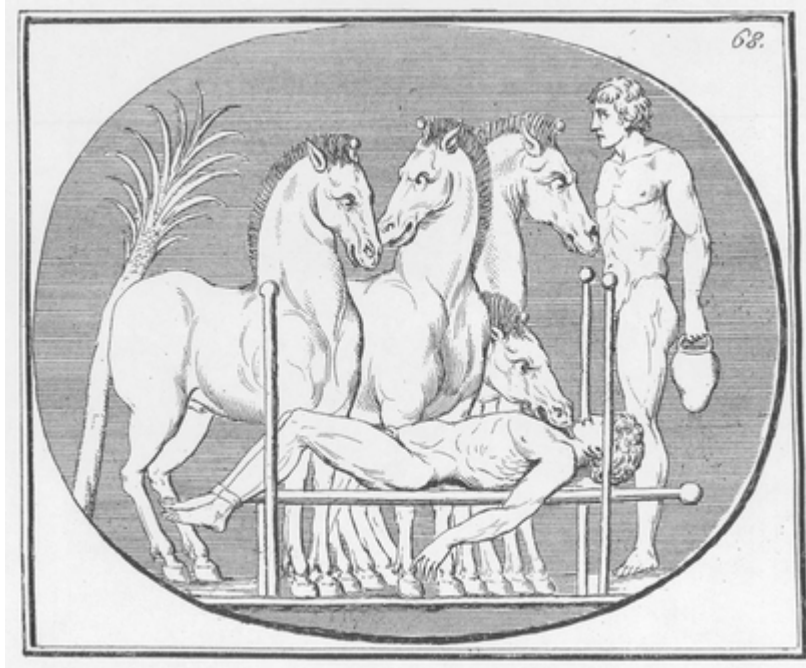
66: *Hercules freeing Hesione.*



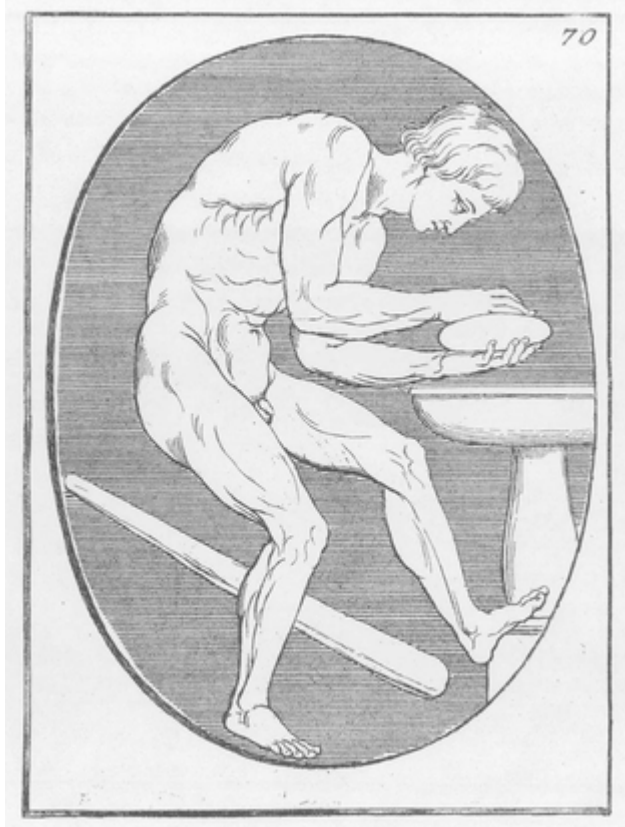
69: *Hercules seizing the mares.*



67: Hercules as the rural deity Silvanus.



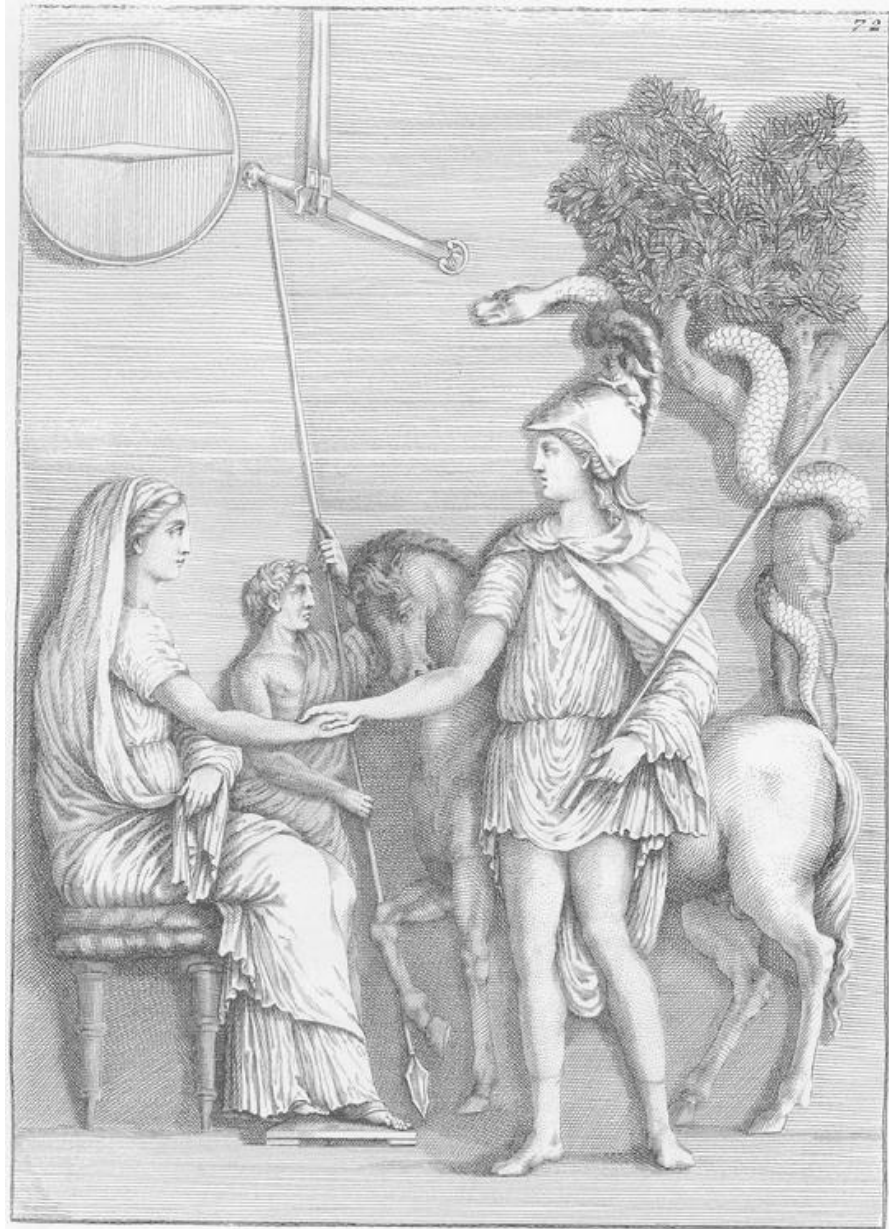
68: *Diomedes of Thrace with his mares.*



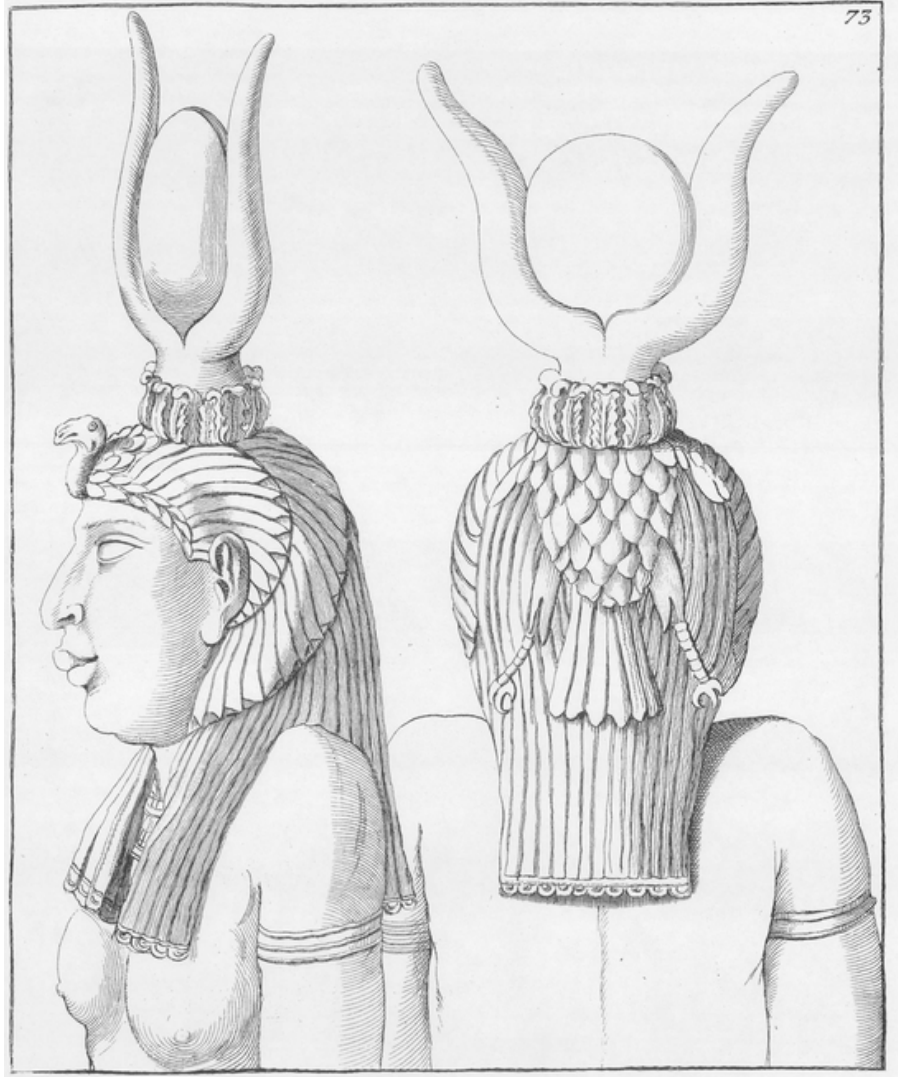
70: Hercules with bread (or a stone), or Helenus of Troy.



71: Birth of Telephus.



72: Telephus meeting his mother Auge.



73: Head of the statuette depicted in No. 74.



74: *Isis nursing Horus.*



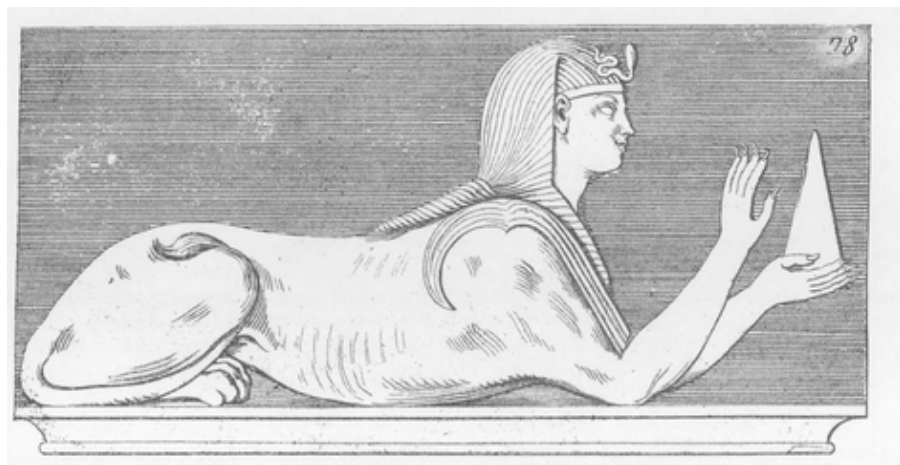
75: Isis (right) with a mother and son.



76: Egyptian deity [Thoth].



77: Harpocrates (Horus).



78: Sphinx.



79: A pharaoh.



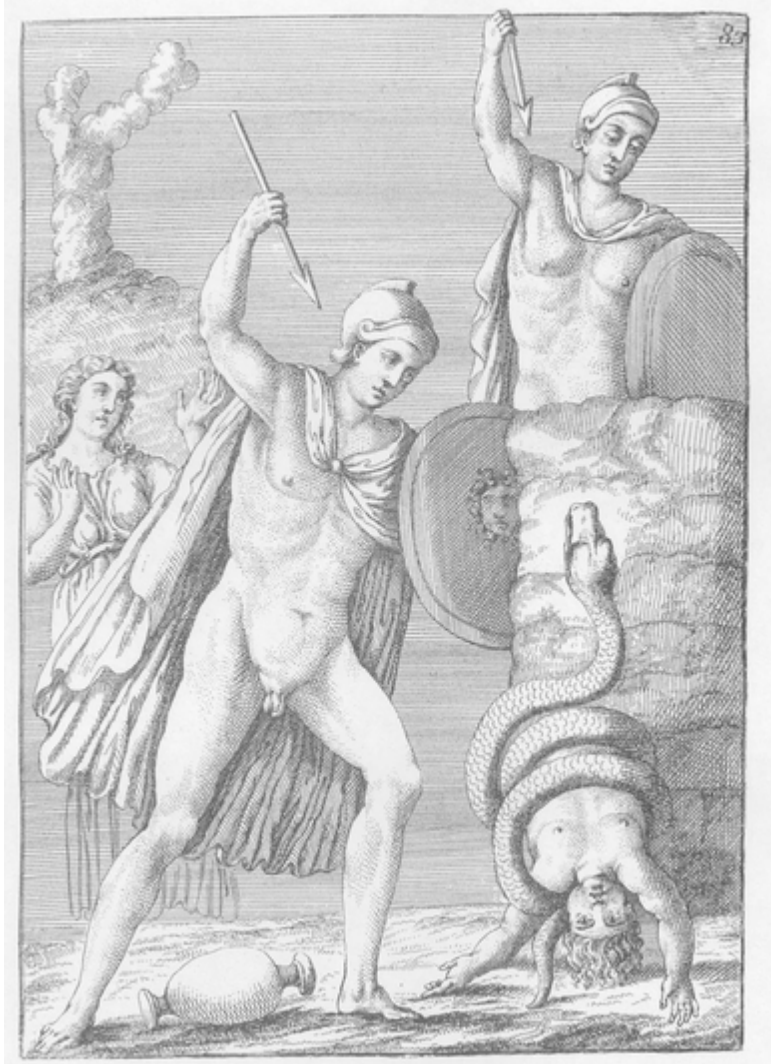
80: Centauress and child.



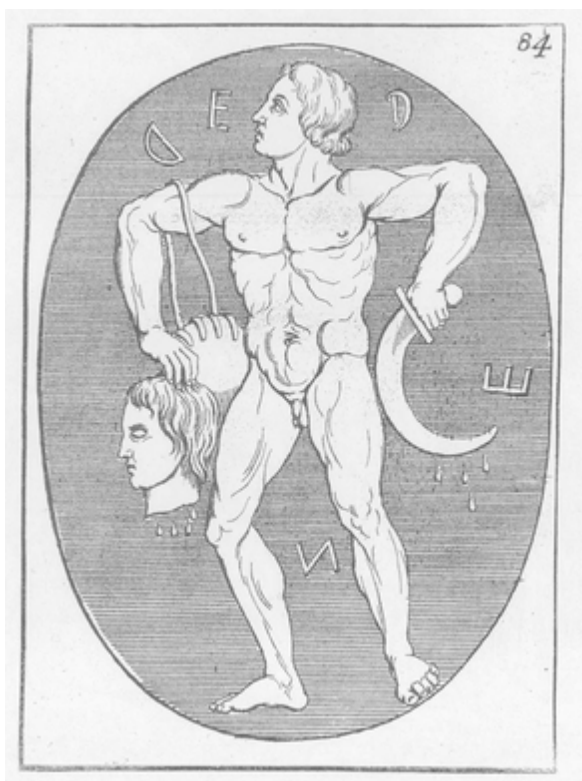
81: Prometheus, or the Nile.



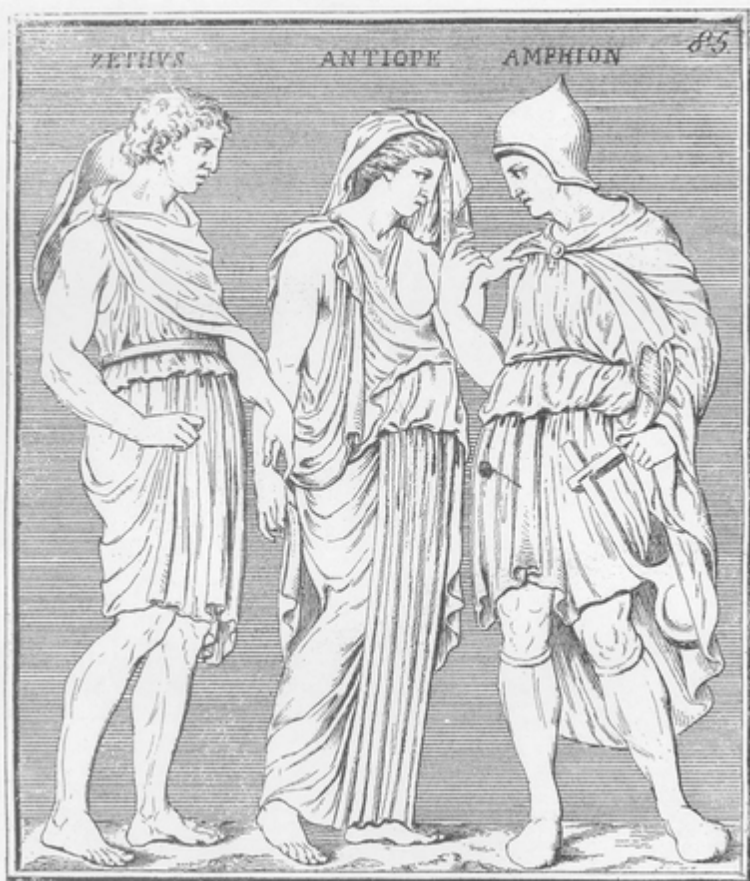
82: *Prometheus fashioning man, or Vulcan fashioning Pandora.*



83: *Cadmus killing the serpent.*



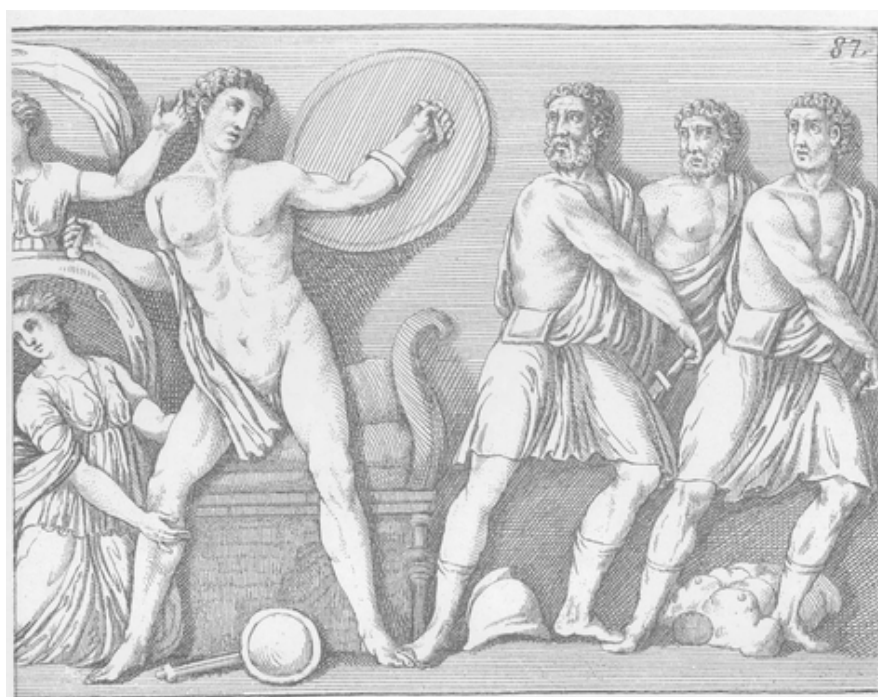
84: Perseus with the head of Medusa.



85: Zethus, Antiope, and Amphion.



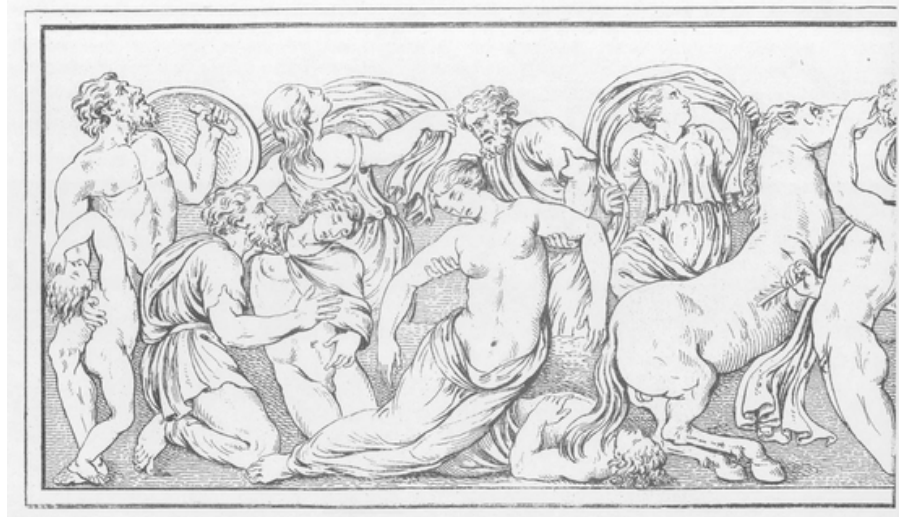
86: The death of Alcestis.



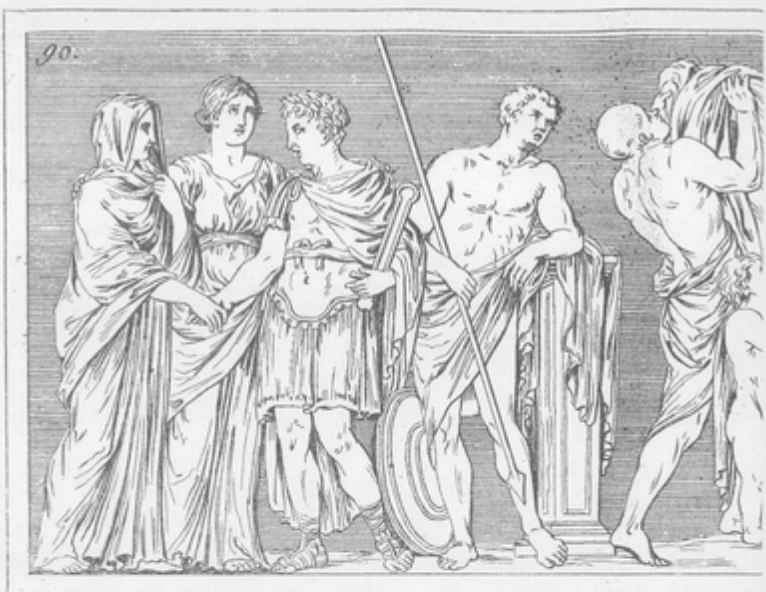
87: *Meleager and his wife.*



88: *Death of Meleager.*

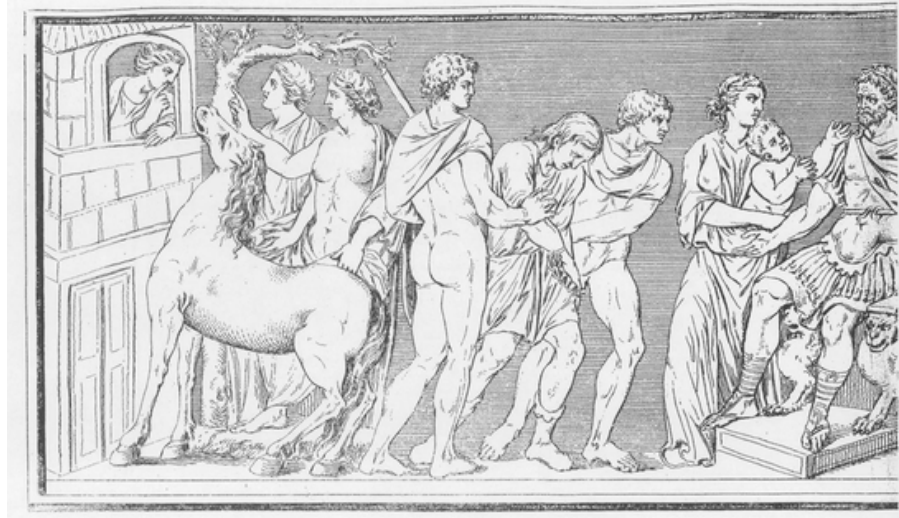


89: Death of Niobe's children.

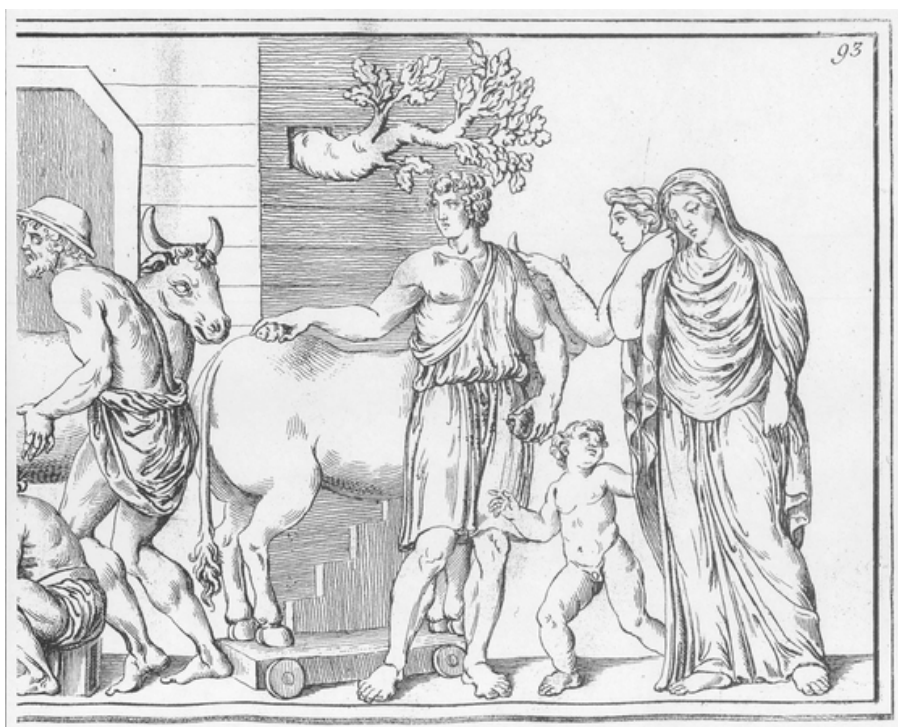
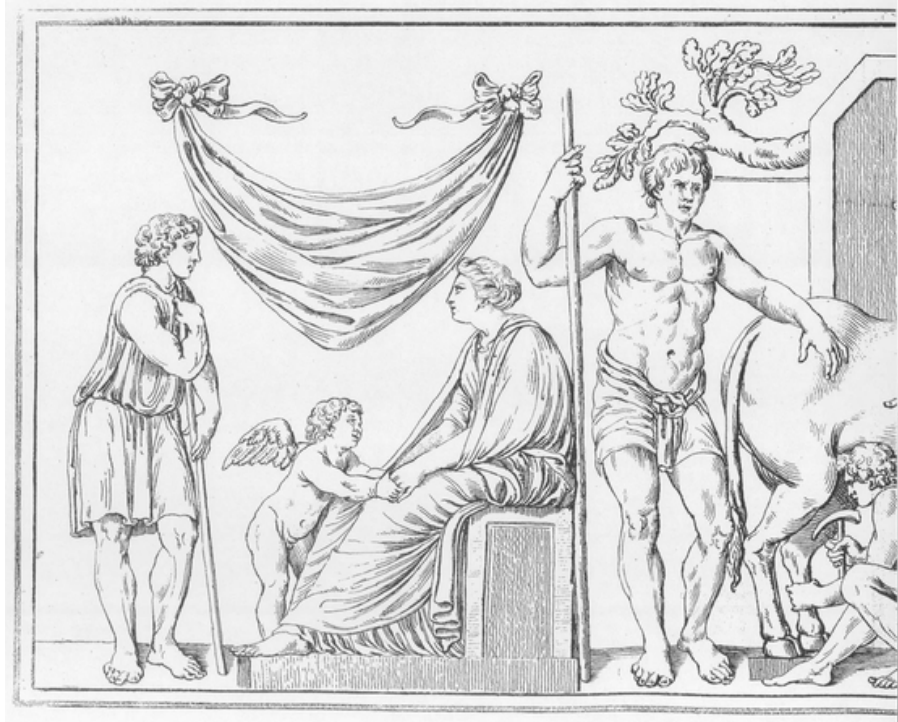


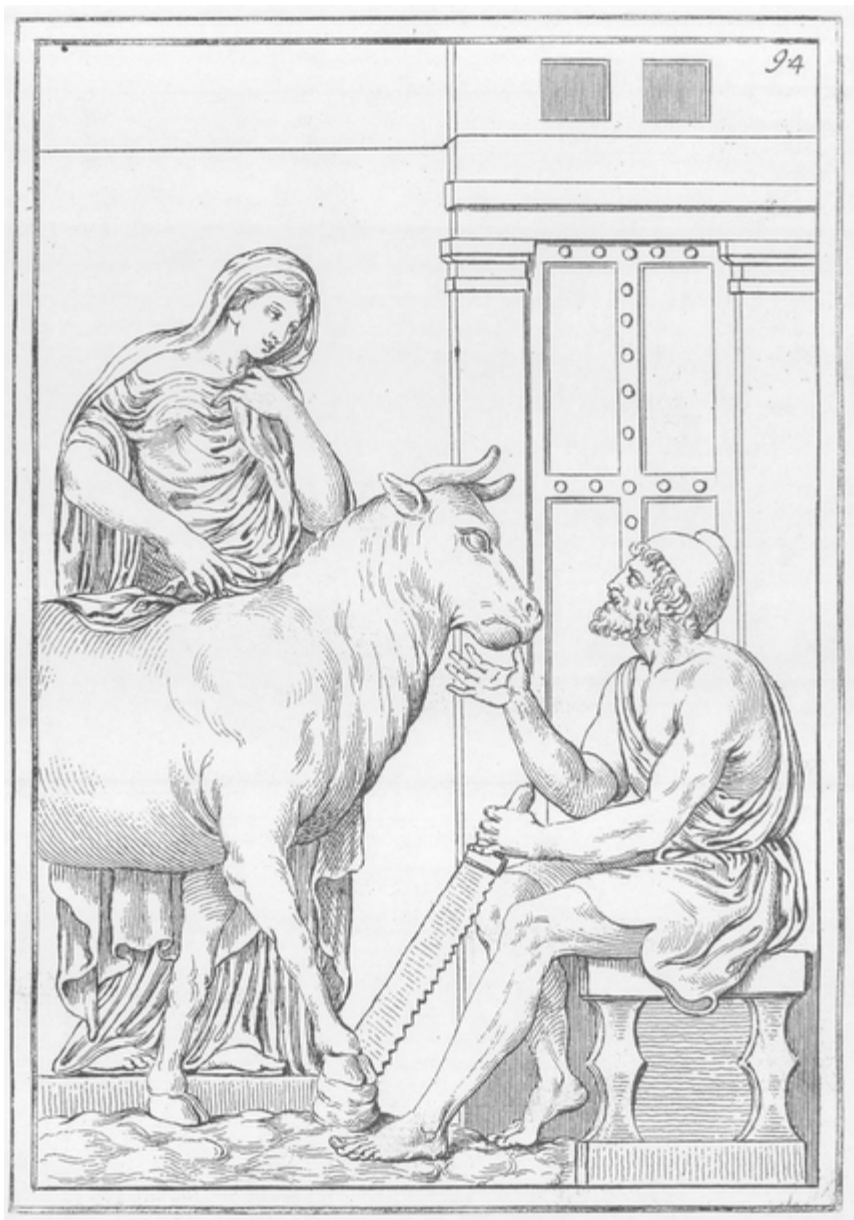


90 & 91: Medea's revenge on Jason.



92: *The story of Alope.*





94: *Daedalus, Pasiphaë, and the Cretan bull.*



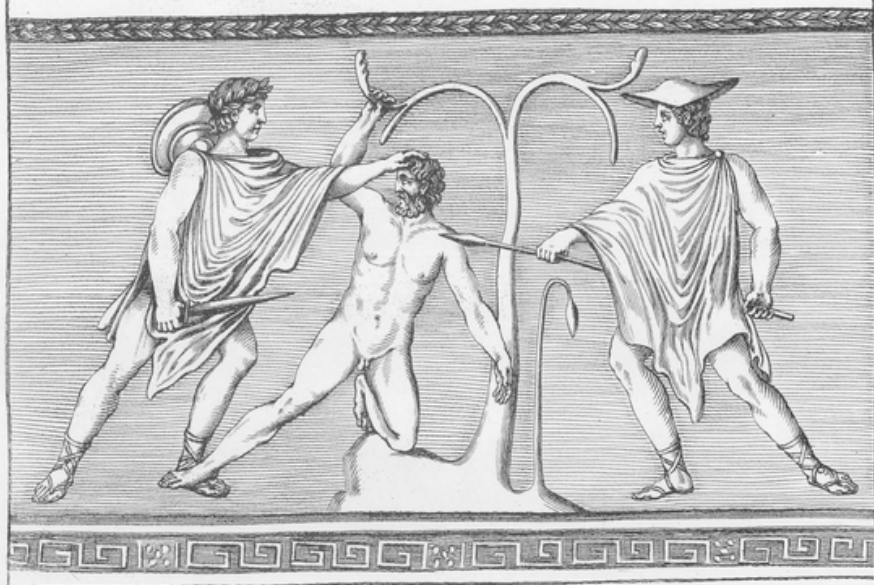
95: *Daedalus and Icarus.*



96: *Theseus learns who his father was.*



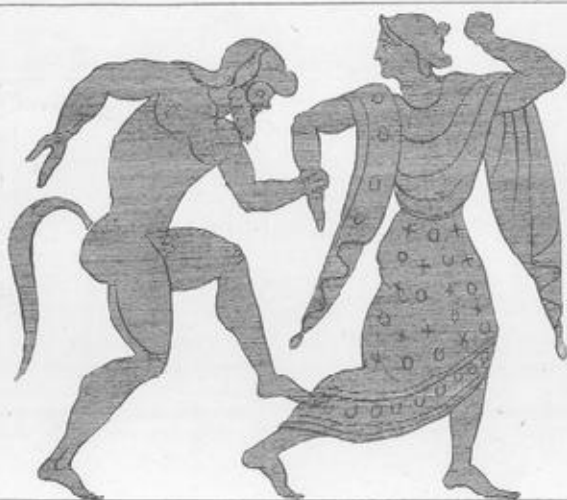
97: *Theseus and a slain woman.*



98: Theseus punishing Sinis.



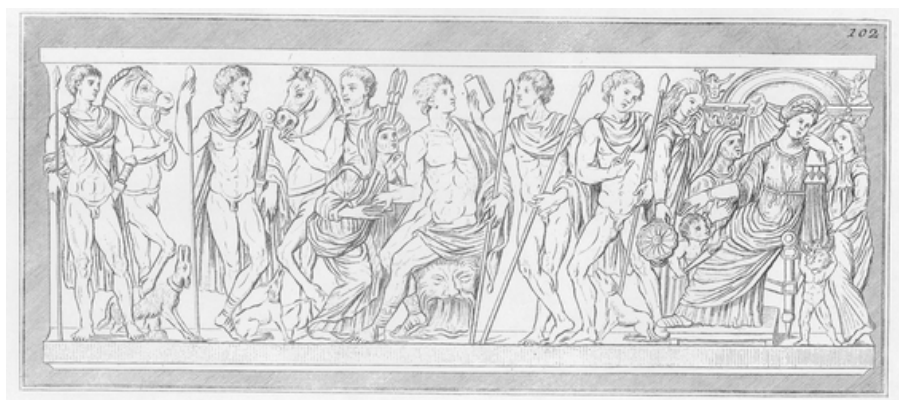
99: Theseus and Ariadne, with her thread.



100: Theseus killing the Minotaur.



101: Theseus in prison.



102: Phaëdra's love for Hippolytus.



103: Blind Oedipus led away from Thebes.



104: *Oedipus at Colonus.*

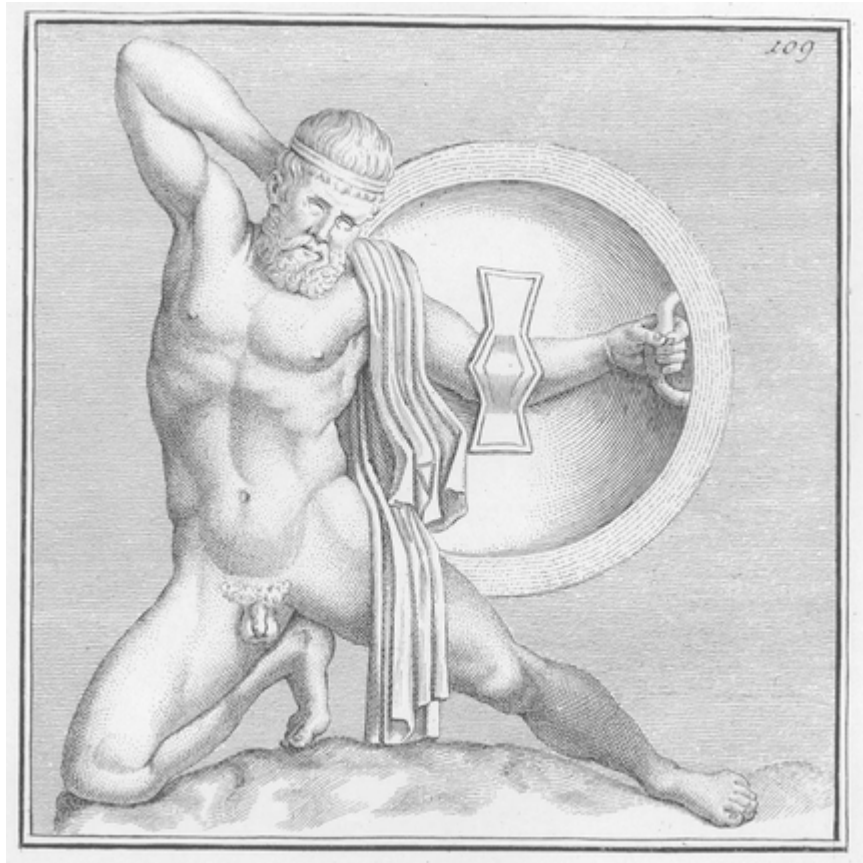


105: Five of the heroes who besieged Thebes.

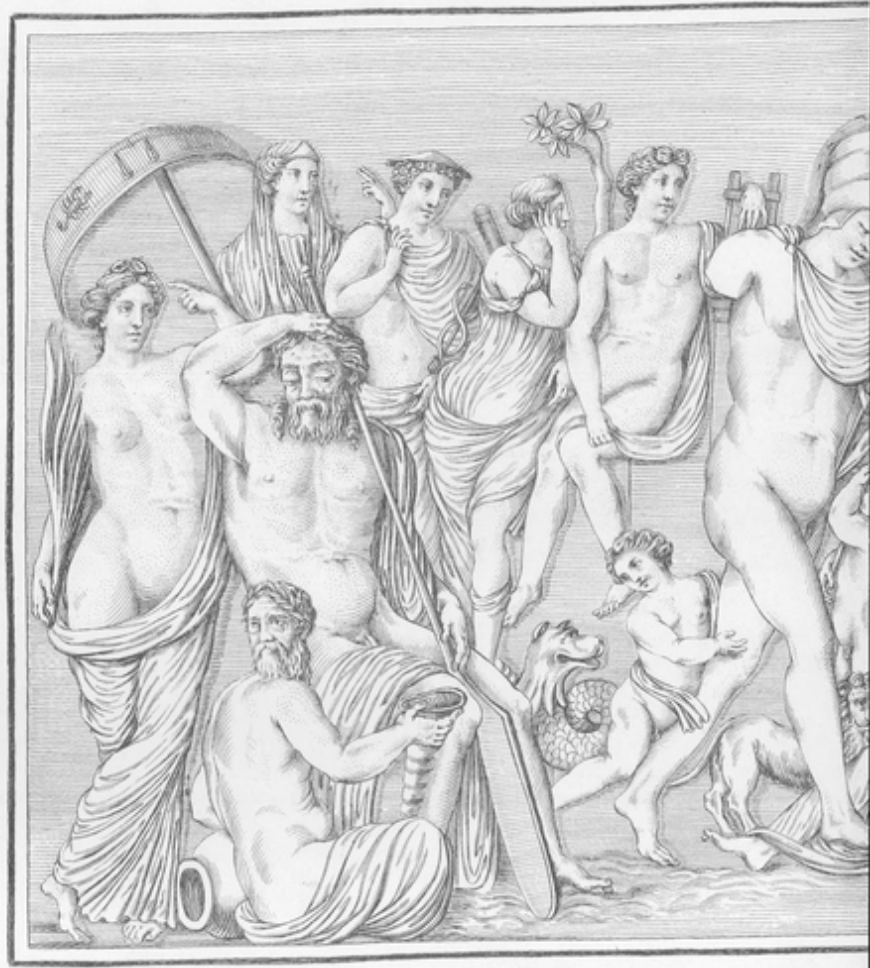


106 & 107: Tydeus.



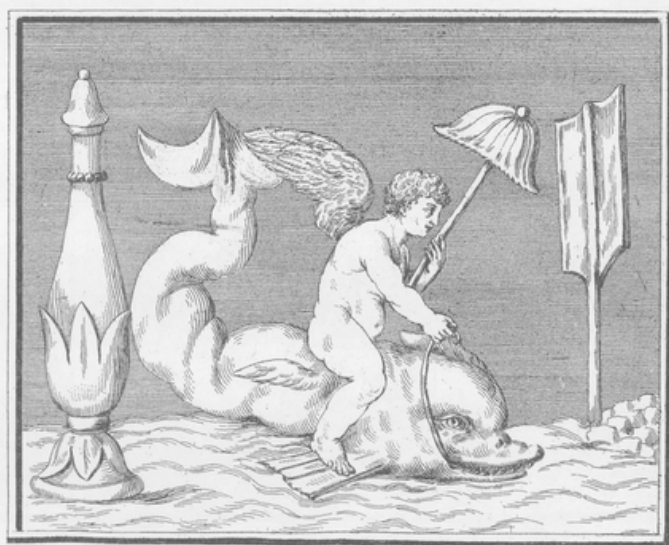


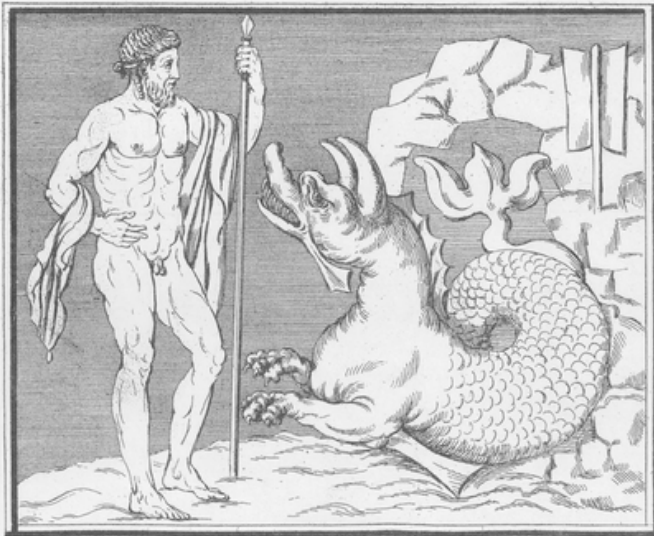
108: Amphiaraus and his wife. 109: Capaneus(?). wife.





110: *Peleus wins Thetis as his*

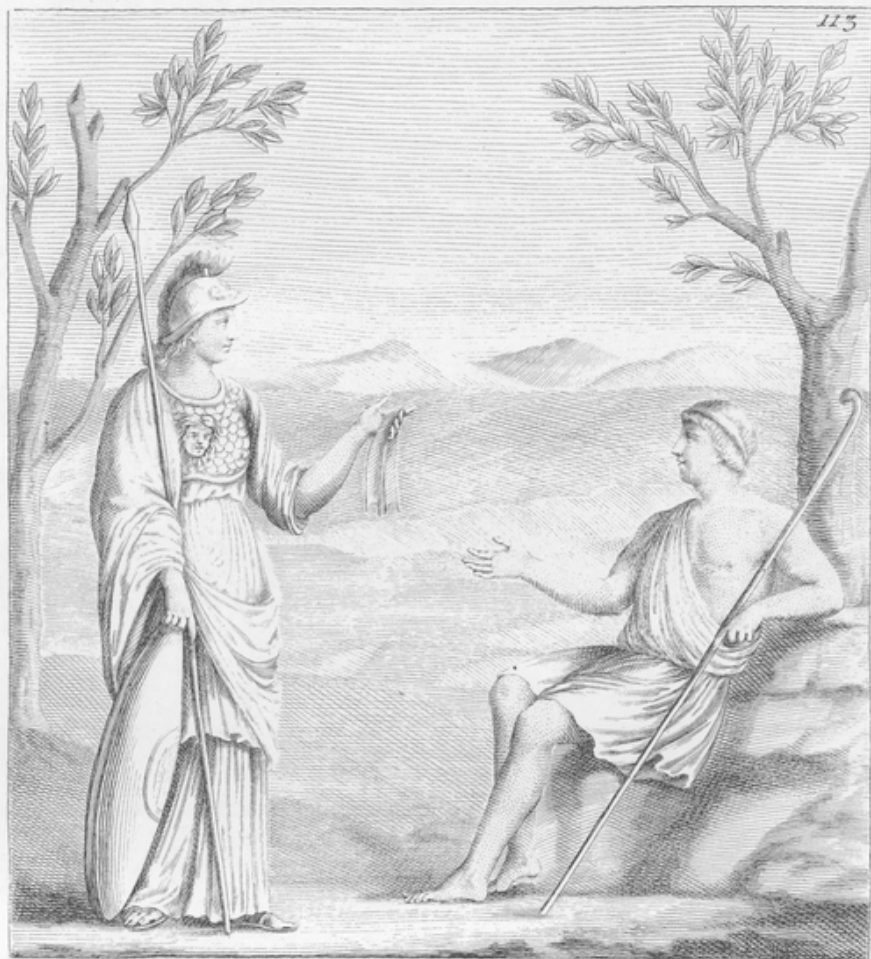




111 : Wedding of Peleus and Thetis.



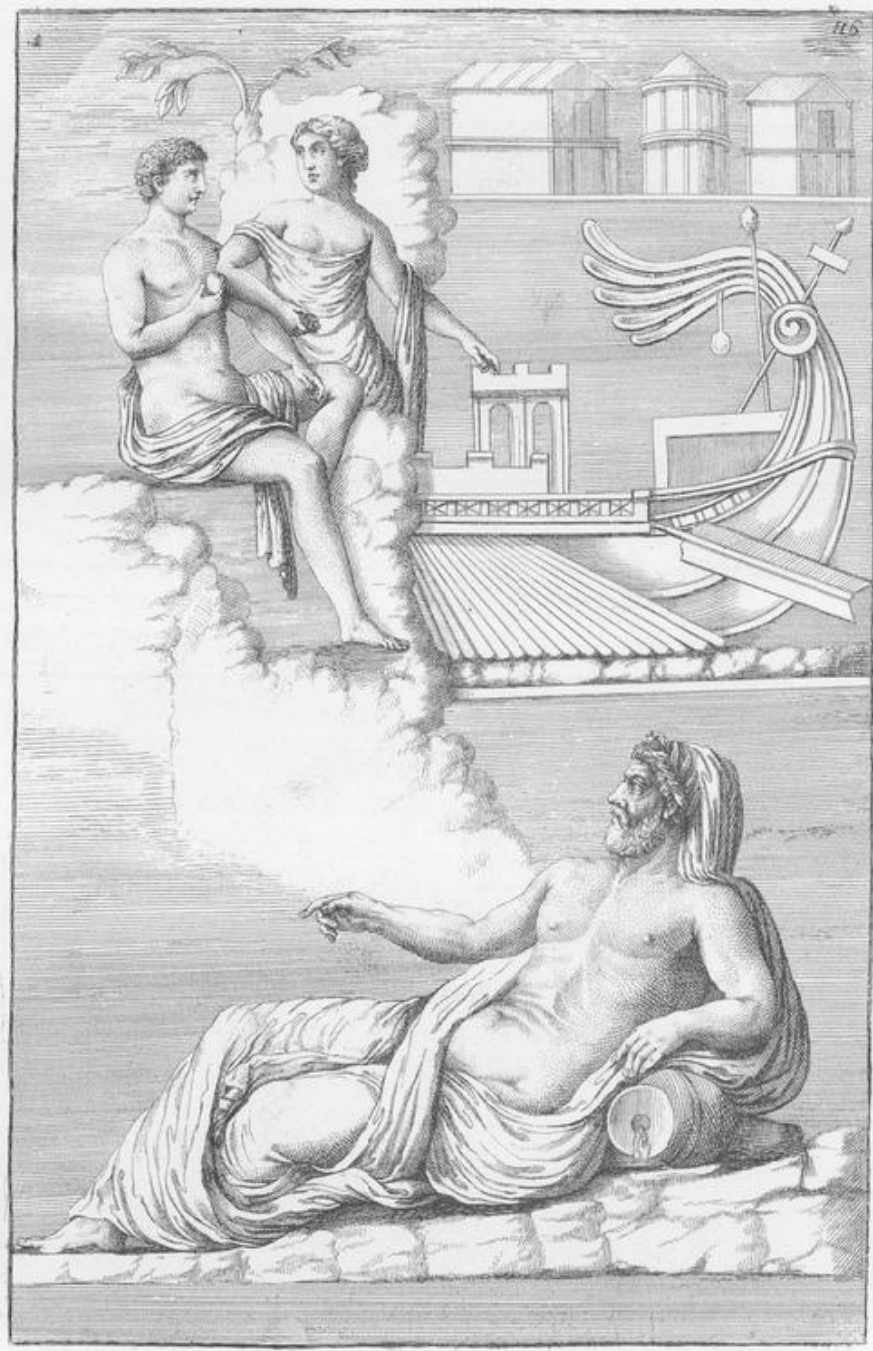
112: Paris, son of Priam.



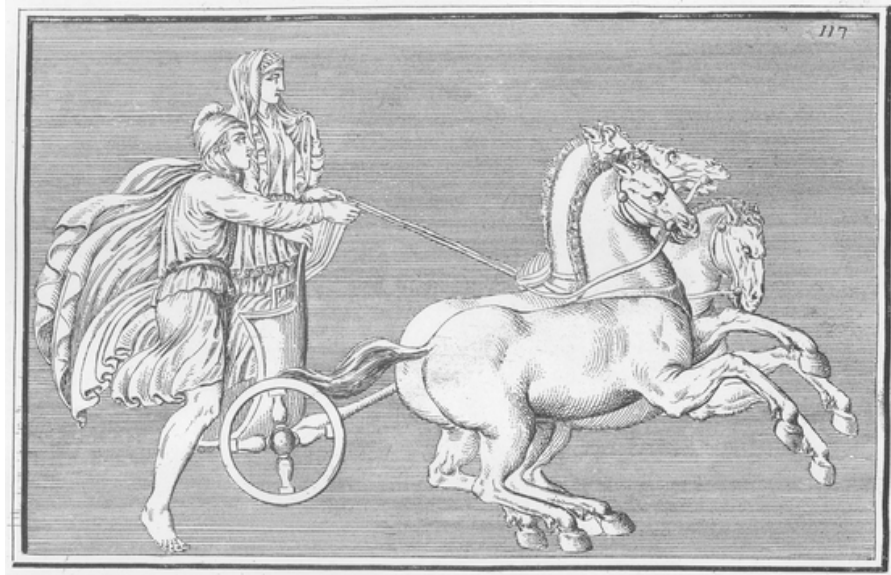
113: Pallas and Paris.



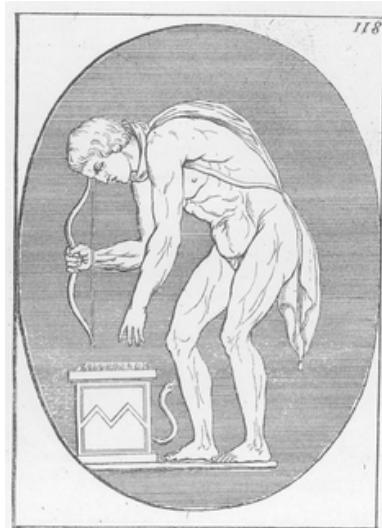
114 & 115: Paris and Helen.



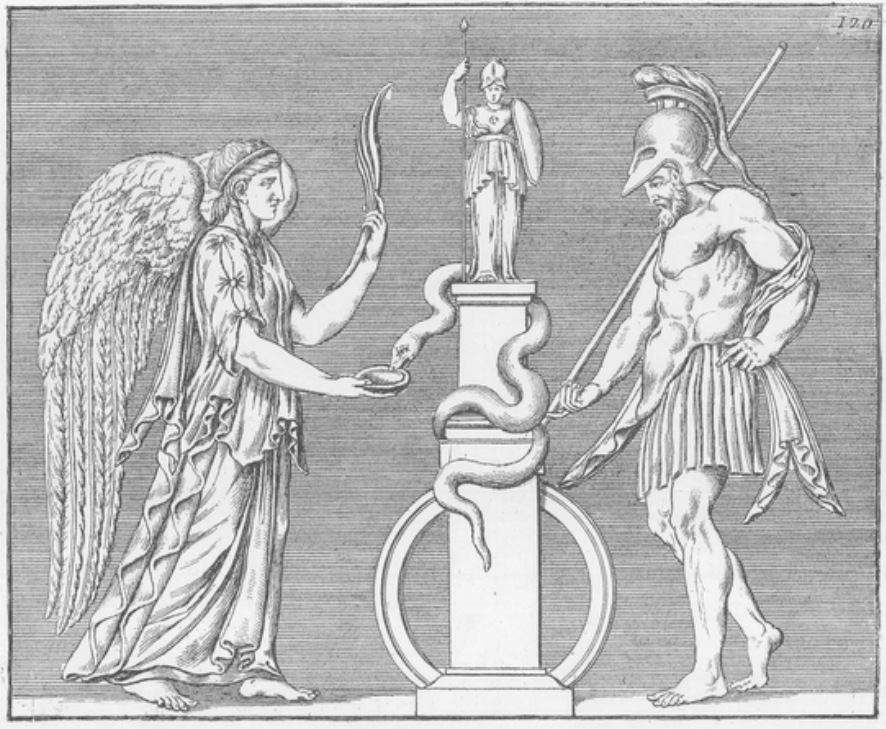
116: Paris and Helen leaving for Troy.



117: Paris abducts Helen.



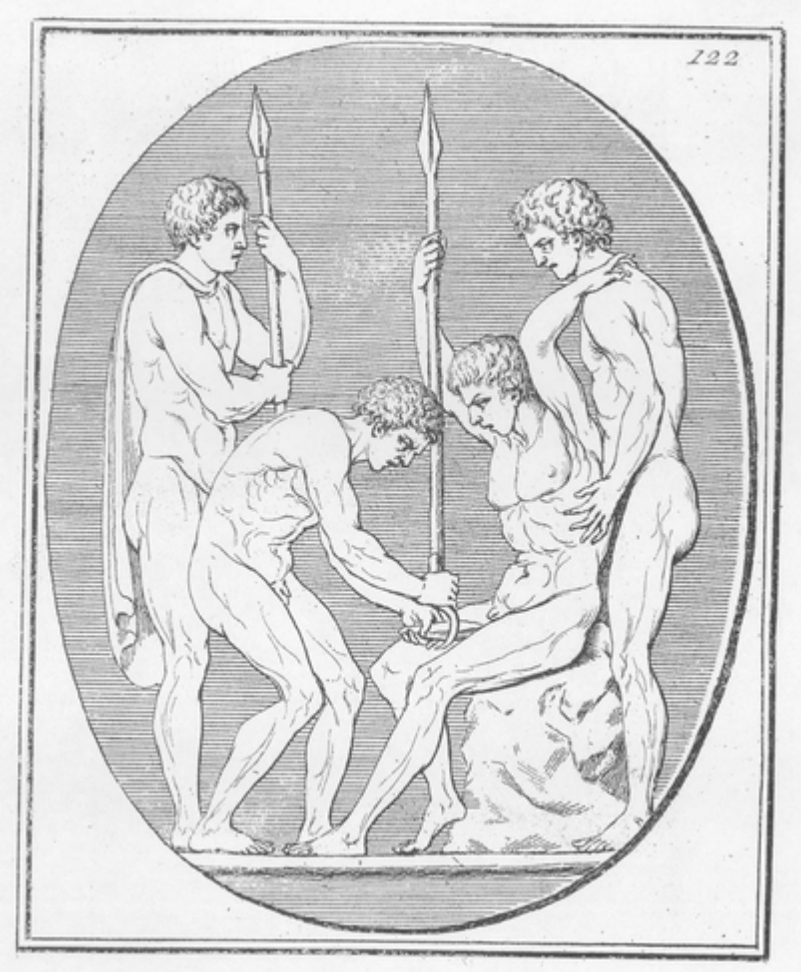
118 & 119: Philoctetes.



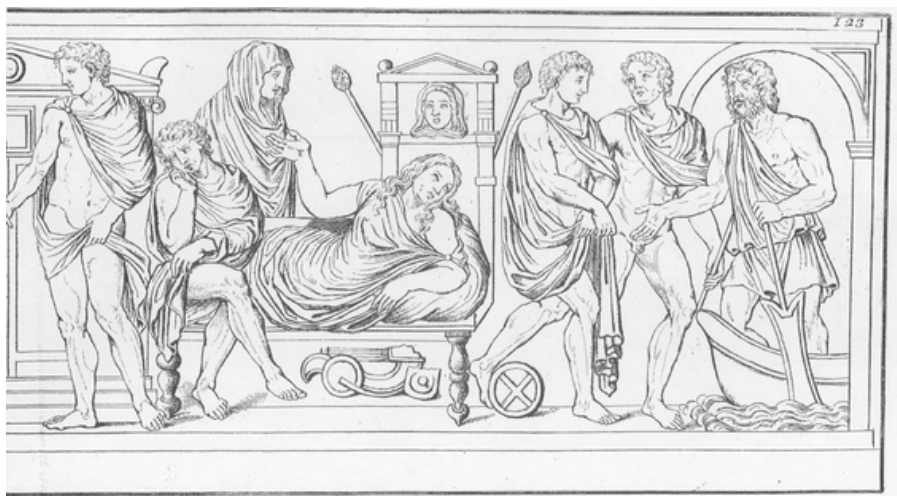
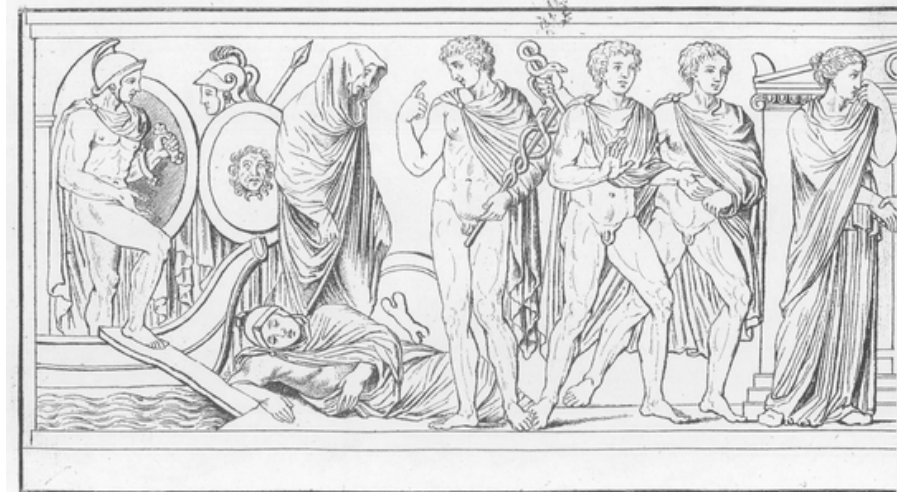
120: *Philoctetes.*



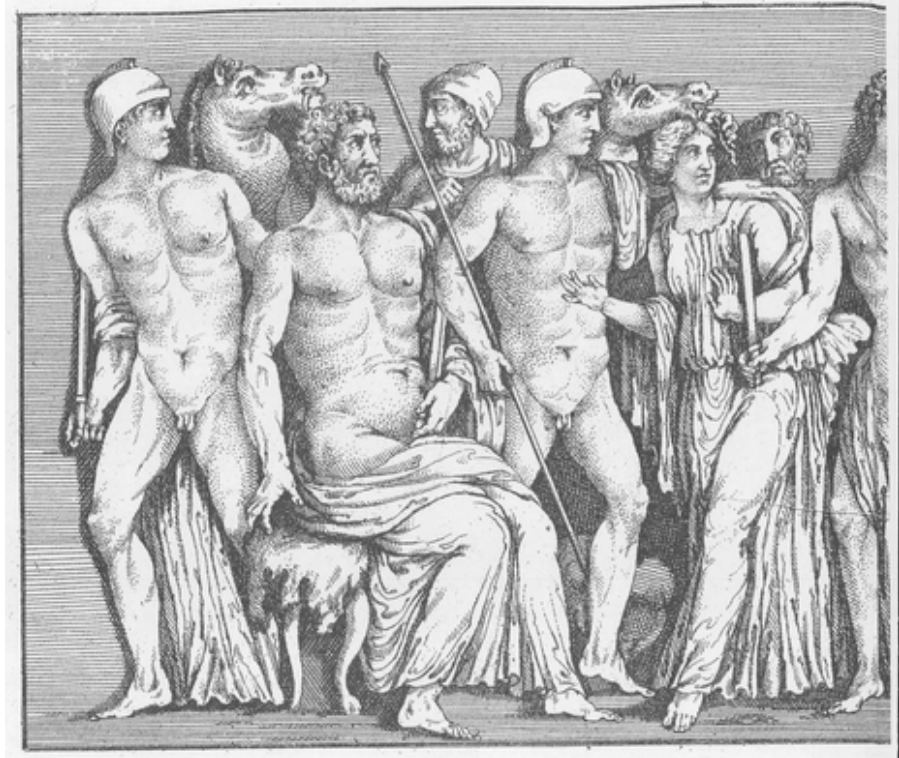
121: Nireus and the queen of Mysia.



122: Achilles cures Telephus.



123: *Protesilaus and Laodamia.*

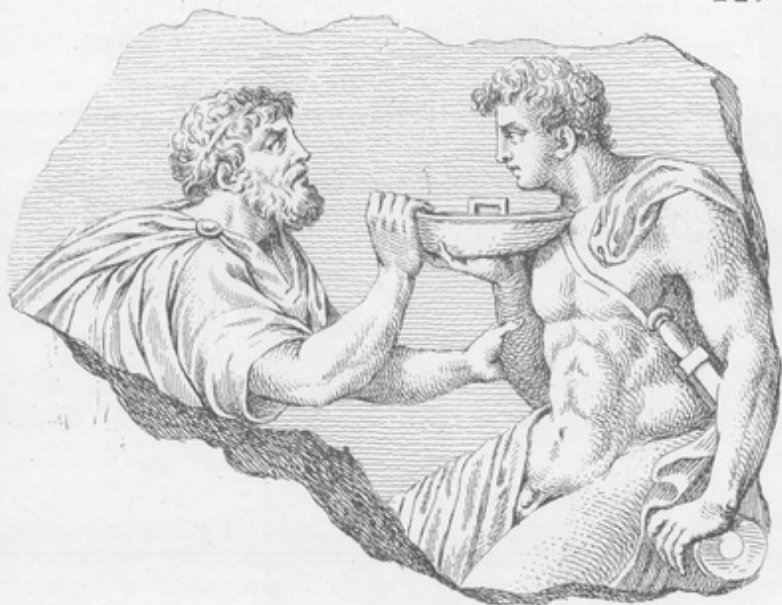




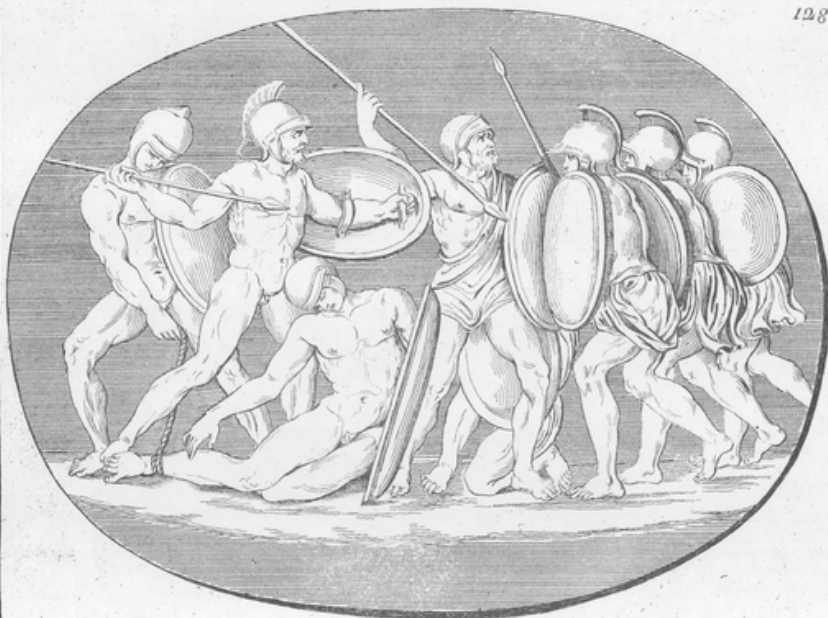
125: Peleus.

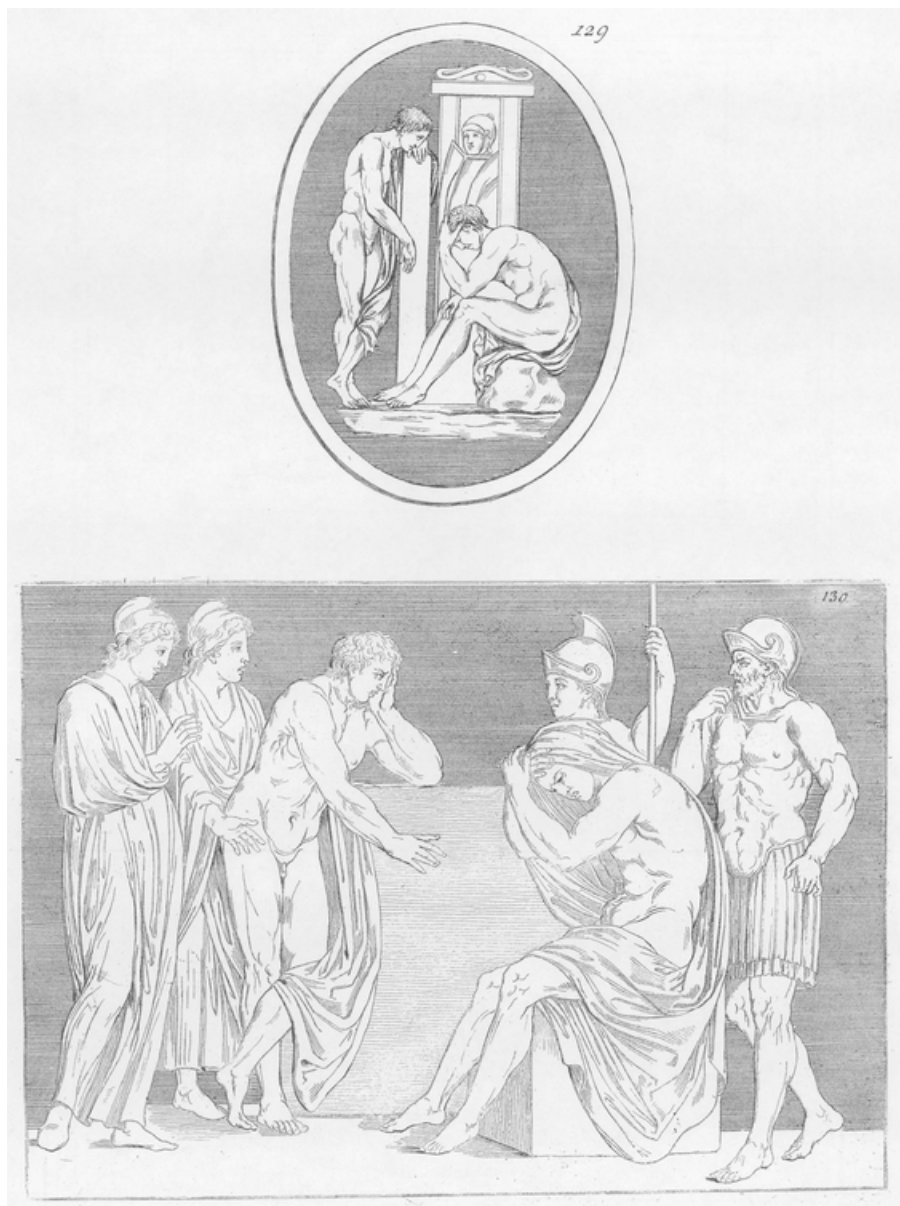


126: Achilles sulking.

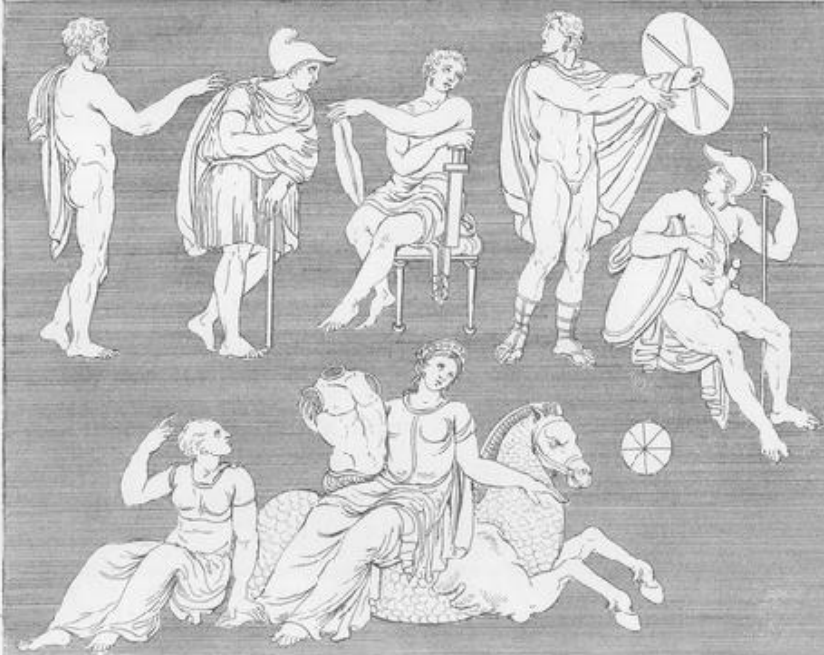


127: Machaon tended by Nestor.





129 & 130: *Achilles mourning for Patroclus.*



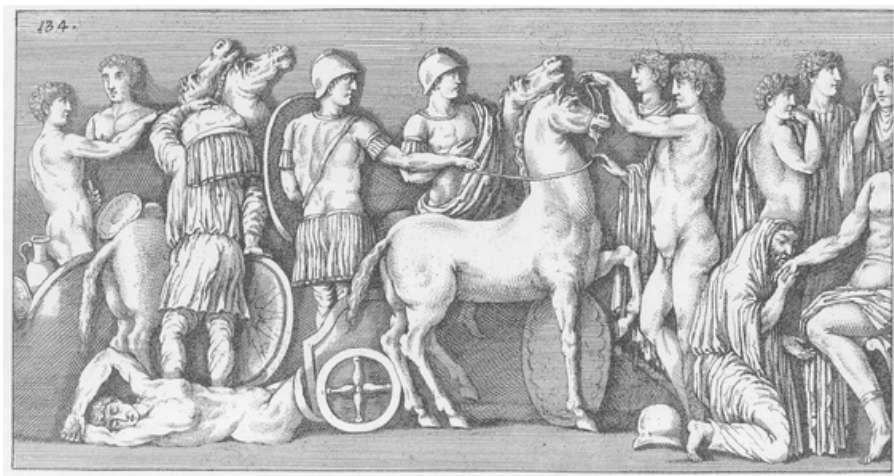
131: *Thetis brings new armor to Achilles.*



132: Achilles arming for his fight with Hector.



133: Weighing the destiny of Achilles and Hector.



134: Priam ransoming the body of Hector.



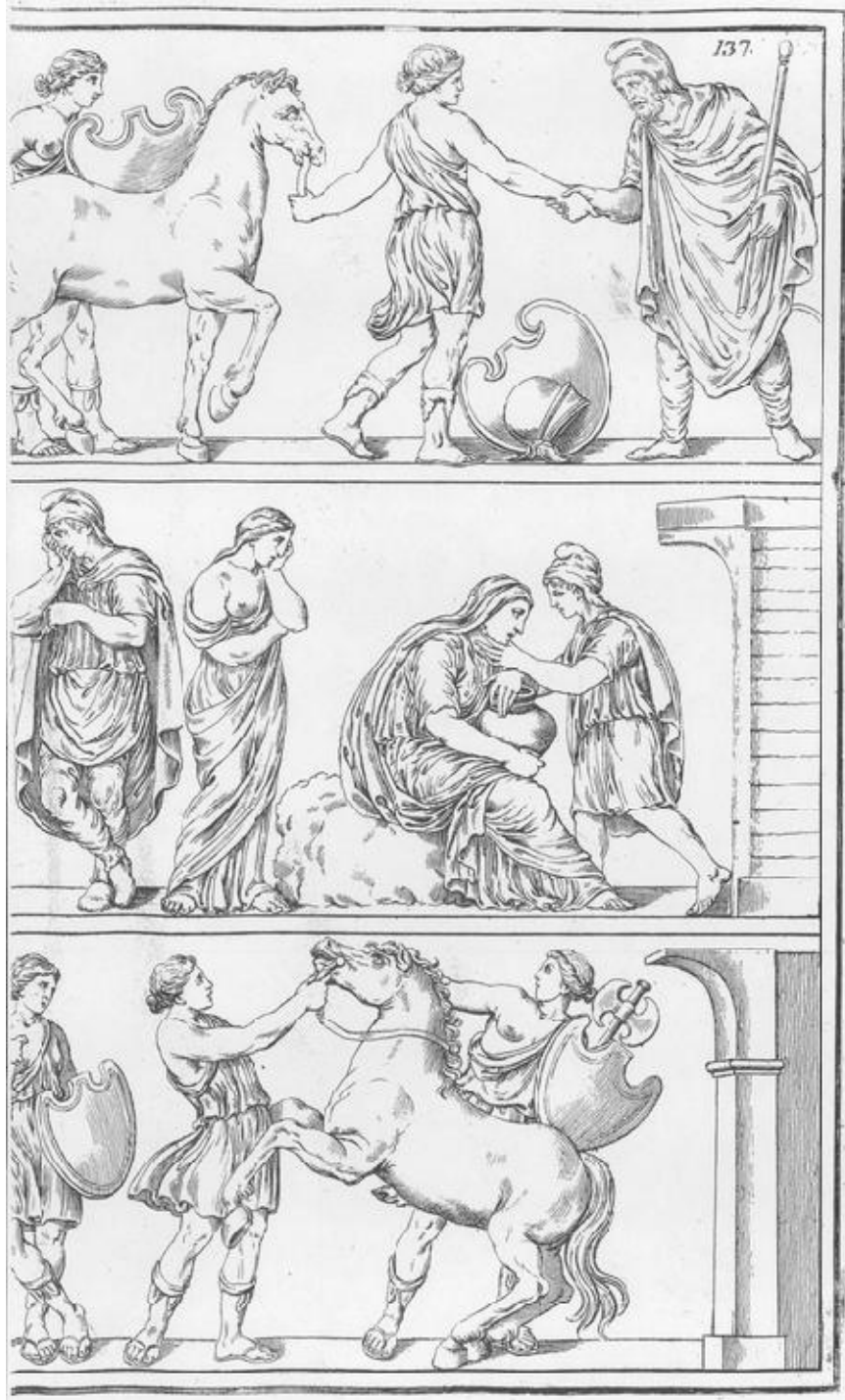
135: Hector's body brought back to Troy.





136: Burial of Hector.





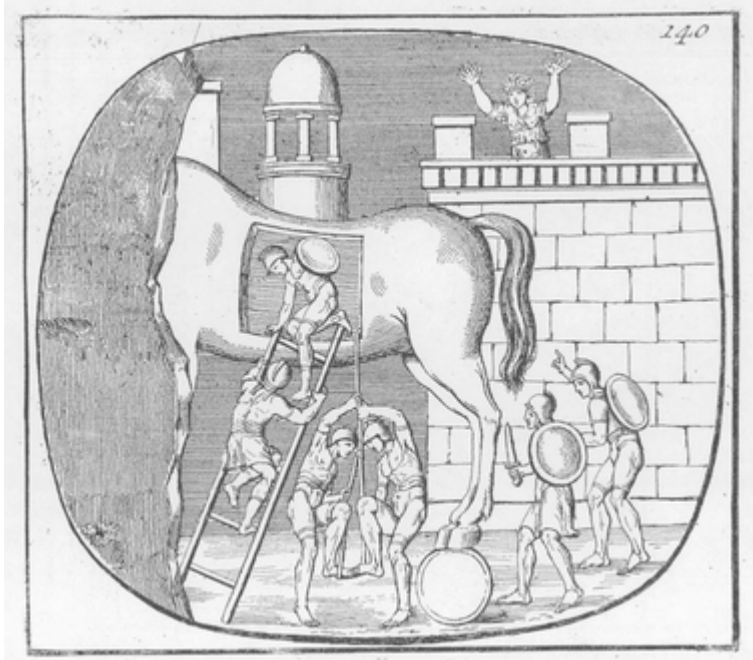
137: Amazons in the Trojan War.



138: Andromache mourning for Hector.



139: Death of Penthesilea.



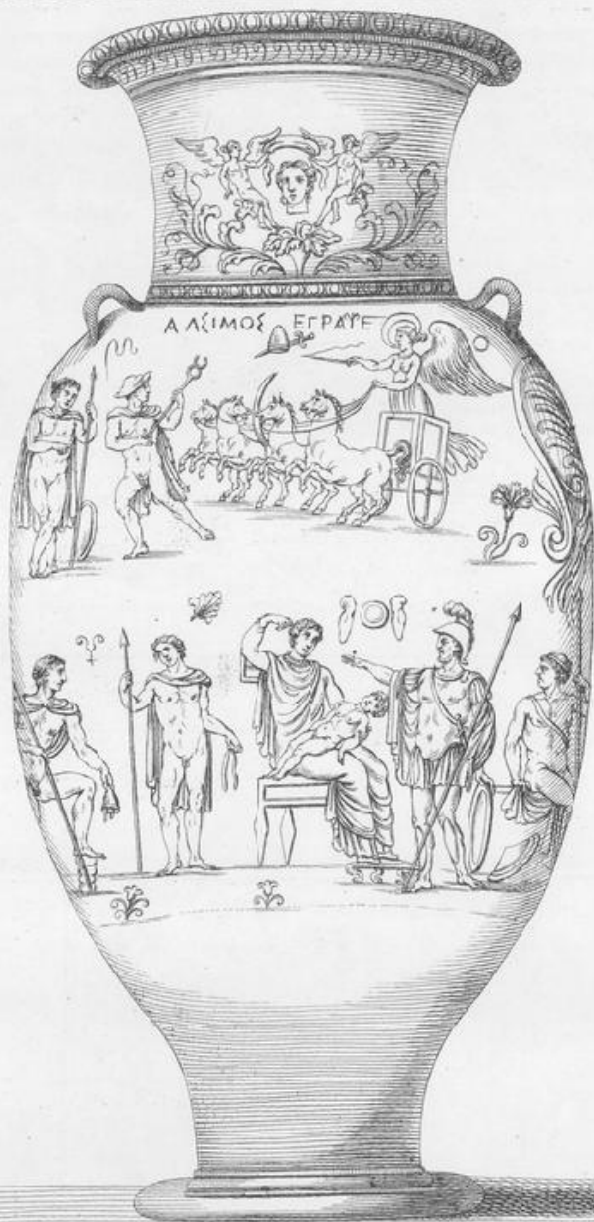
140: *The Trojan Horse.*



141: *Ajax the Lesser assailing Cassandra.*



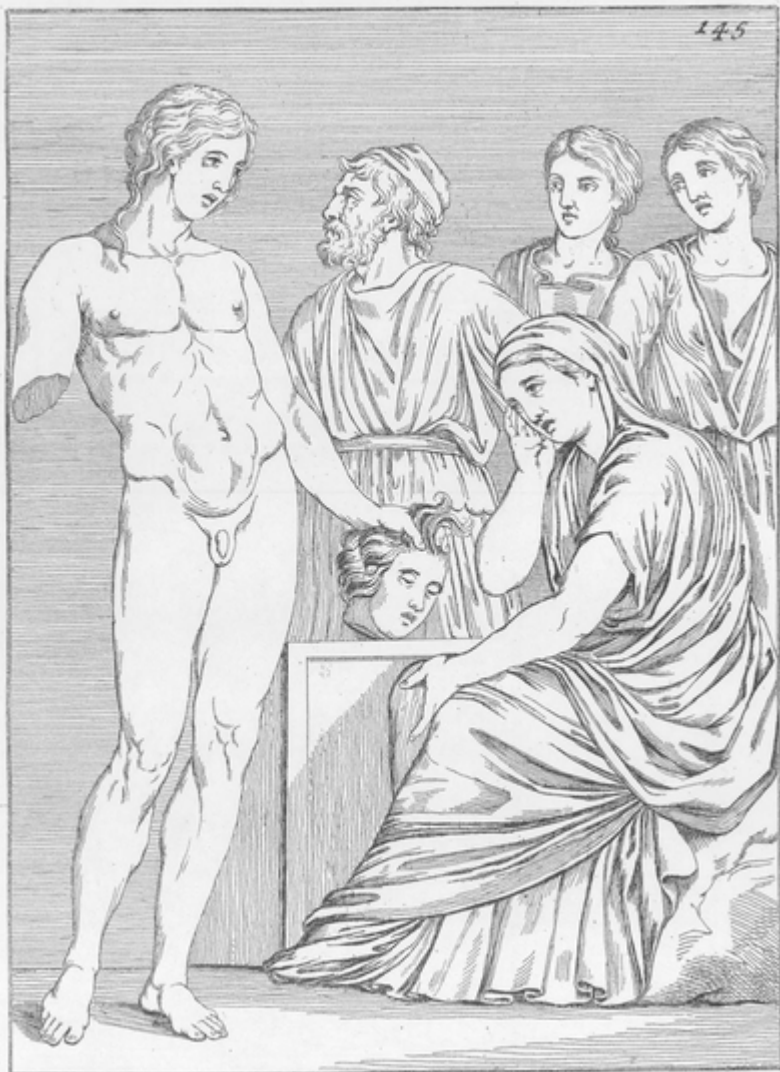
142: Ajax shipwrecked.



143: Menelaus announcing that Astyanax must die.



144: Death of Polyxena.



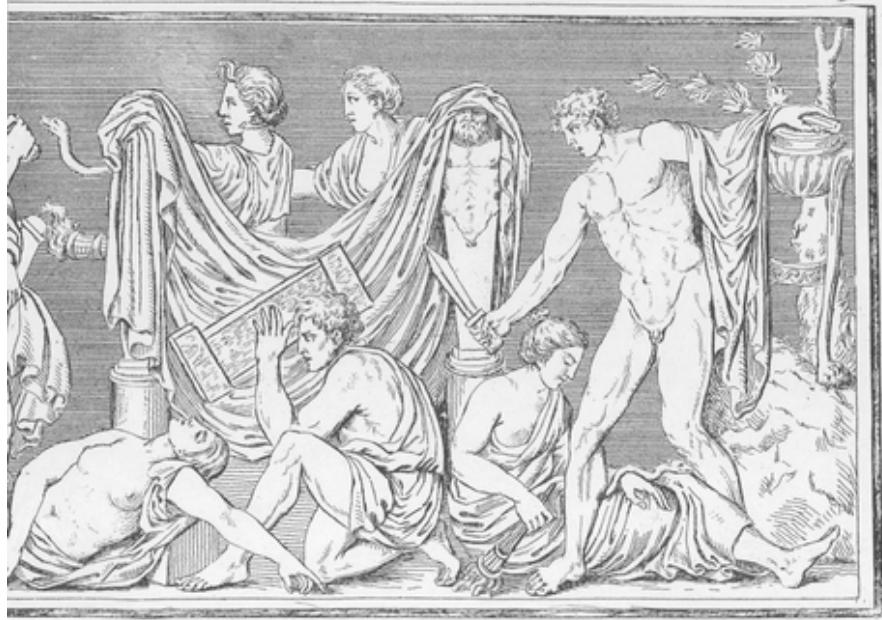
145: Hecuba's vengeance for her youngest son.



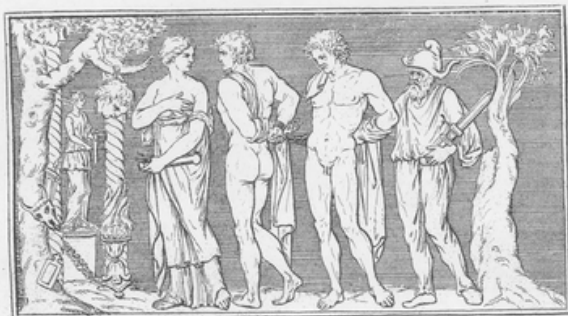


146: Orestes and Pylades at Agamemnon's grave. 147: Electra and Clytemnestra.





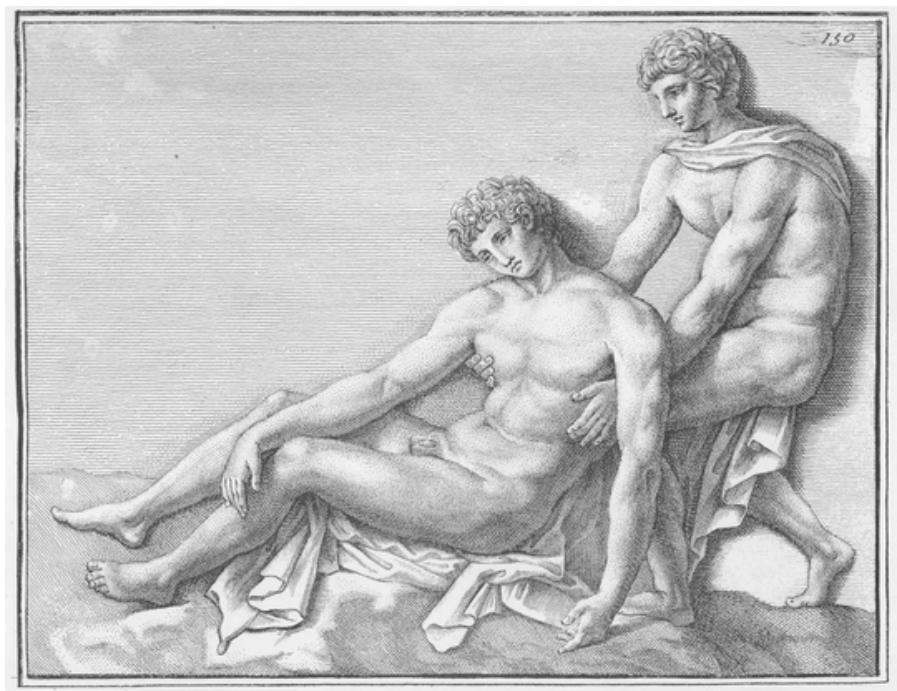
148: *Death of Agamemnon.*



149.



149: Orestes in Chersonese Taurica.

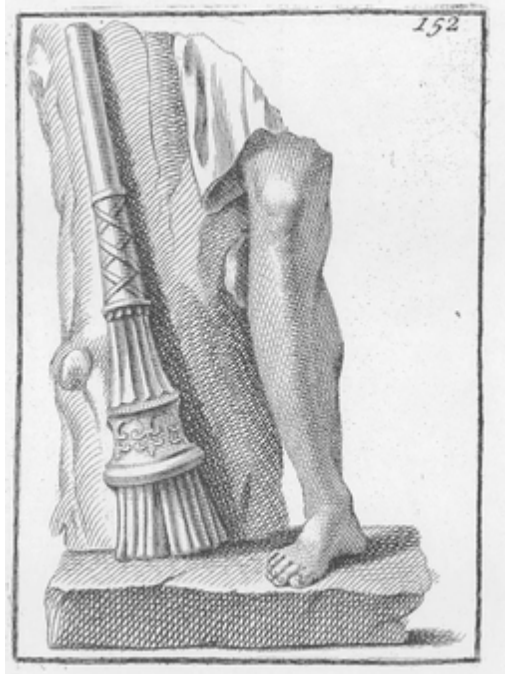


150: Pylades and Orestes.

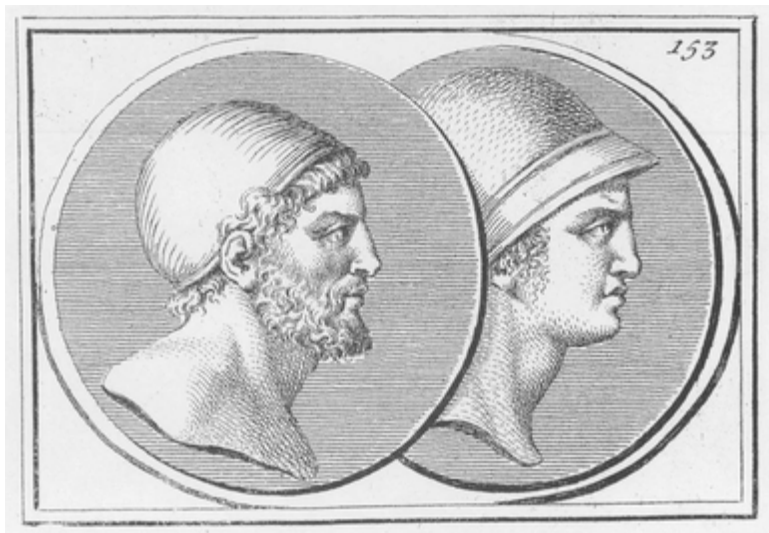




151: Trial of Orestes in Athens.



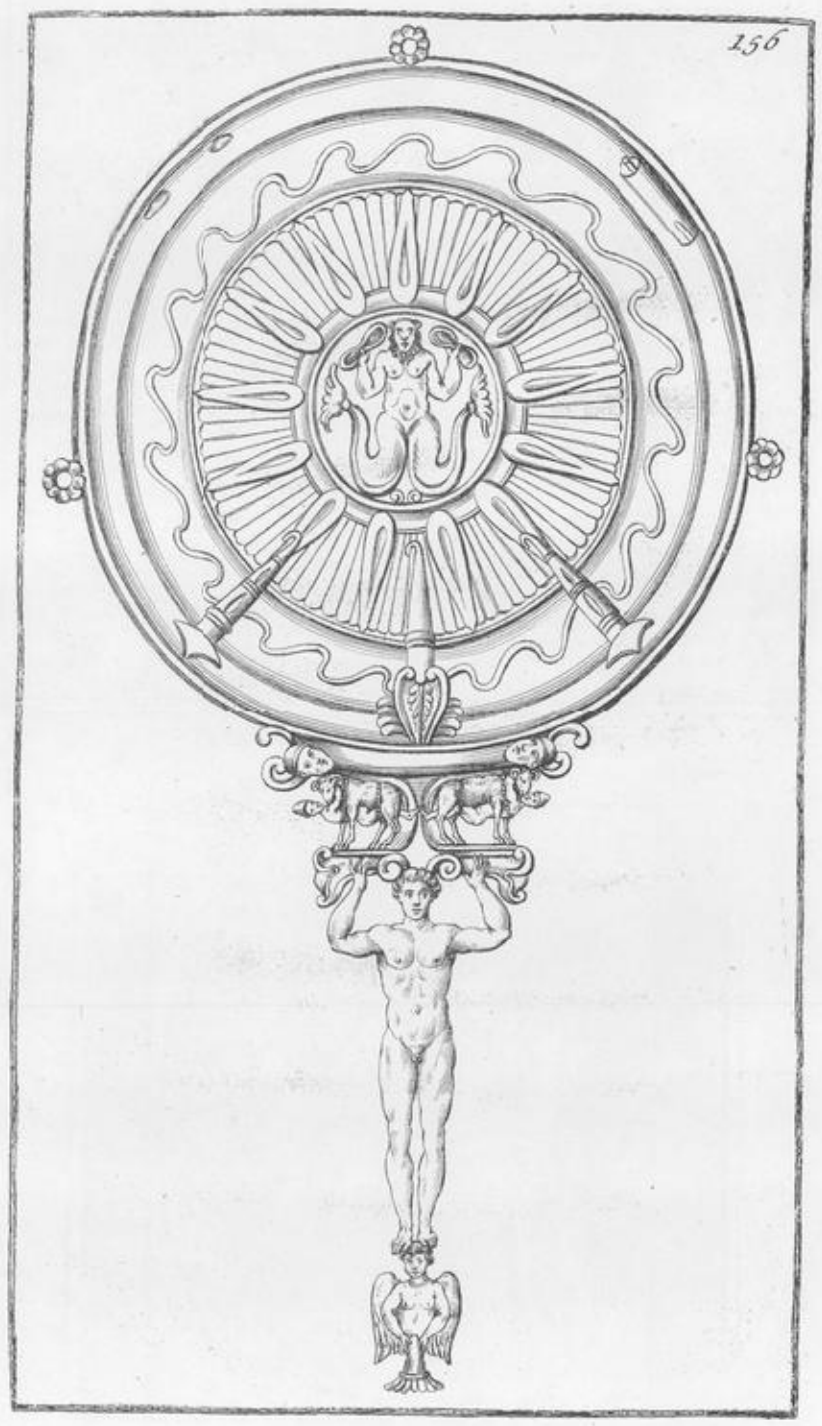
152: A torch.



153: Ulysses and Diomedes.



154 & 155: *Ulysses's adventures with Polyphemus.*



156: Ulysses escaping under a ram.



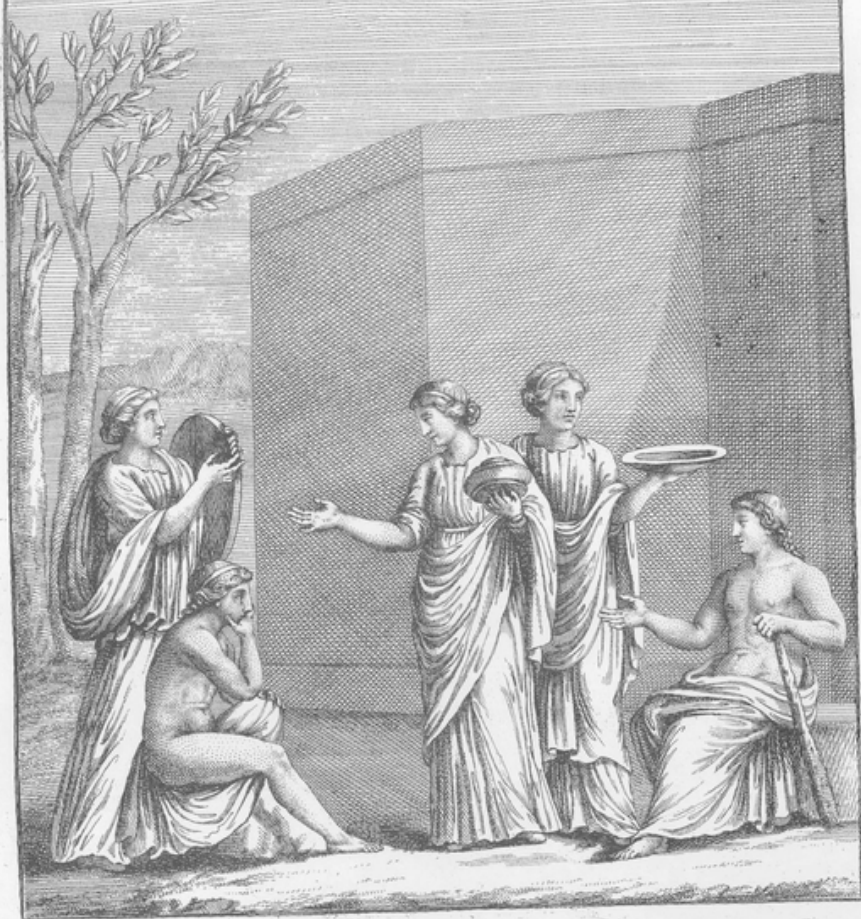
157: Ulysses and Tiresias.



158: One of Ulysses's sailors liberating the winds.



159: Ulysses transformed by Pallas.



160: Telemachus and Helen in Sparta.



161: Ulysses recognized by his servants.



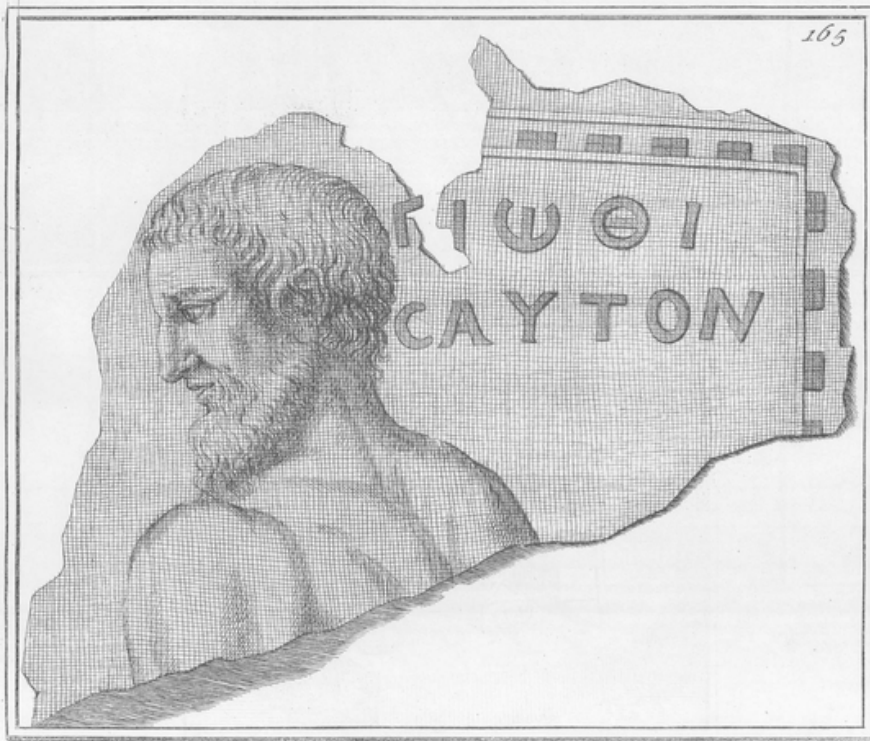
162: Three men (unidentifiable).



163: Sardanapalus.



164: *Descendants of Hercules drawing lots.*



165: *The wise man Chilo.*



166: *Phrynon caught in a net.*



167: Death of Aeschylus.



168: Euripides.



169: Plato.



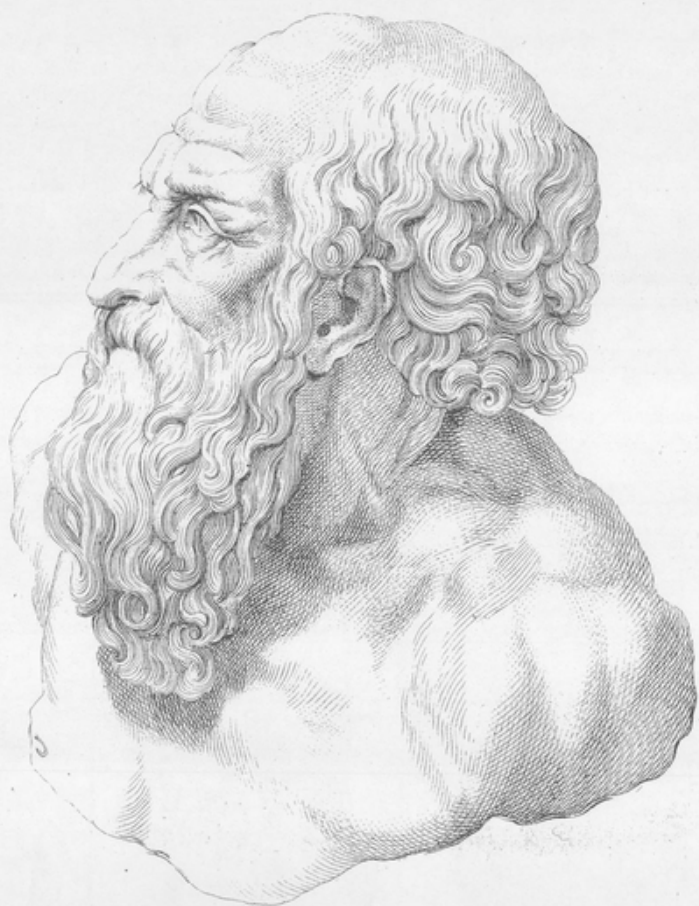
170: A philosopher.



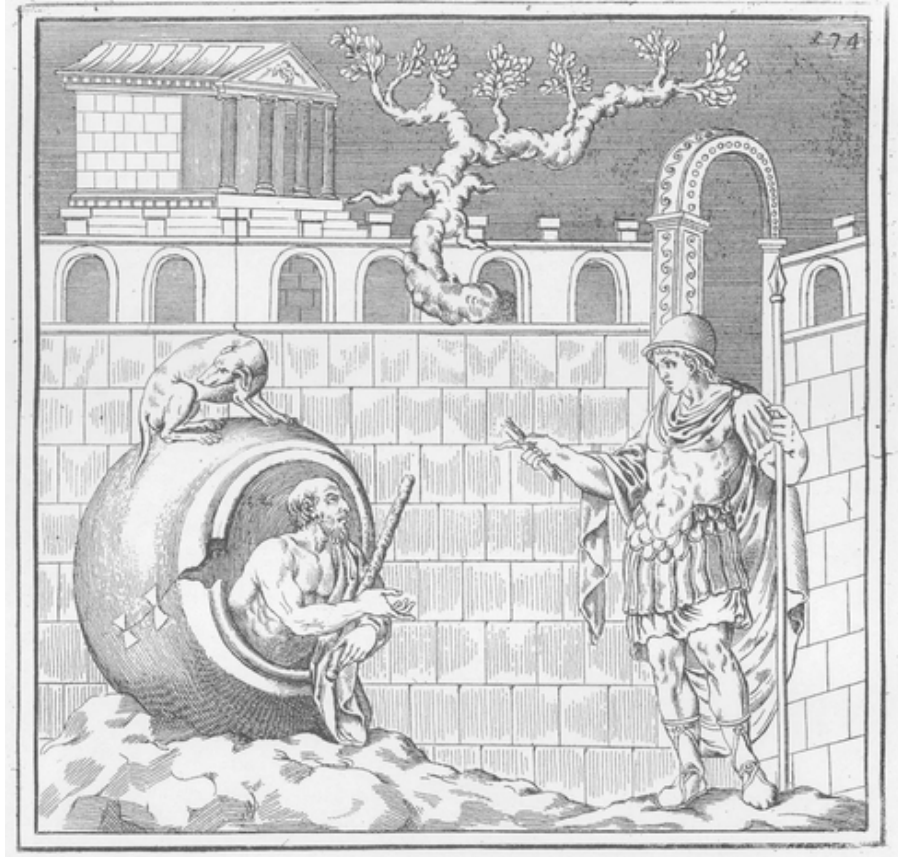
171: Xenophon.



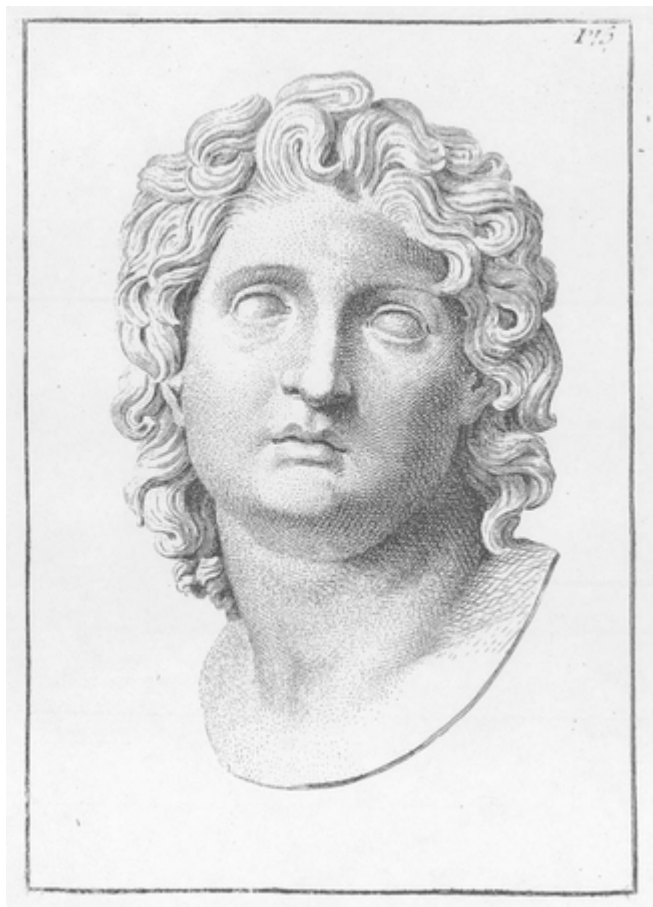
172: Diogenes.



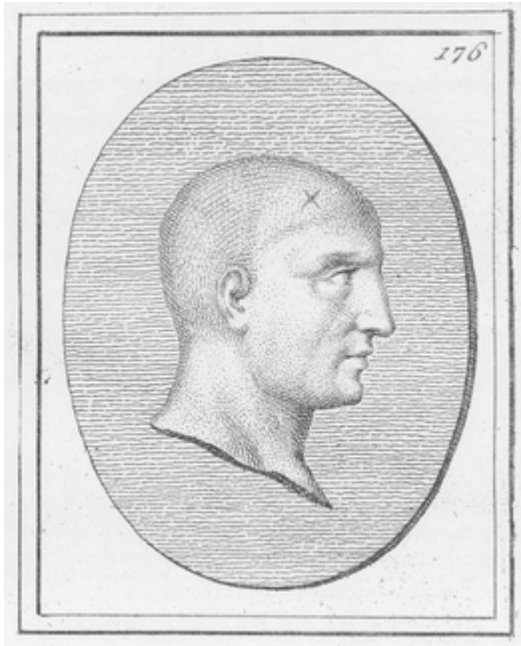
173: Diogenes.



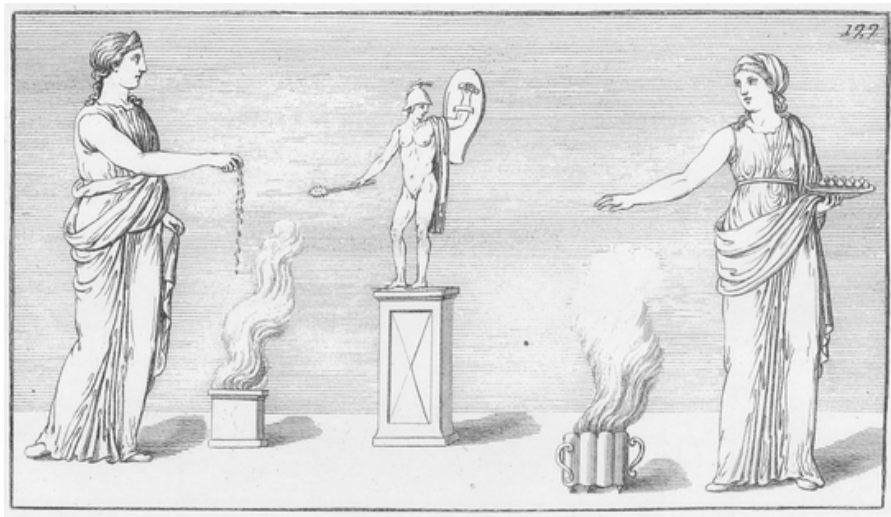
174: *Diogenes and Alexander.*



175: Alexander the Great.



176: Scipio Africanus.



177: Livia and Octavia.



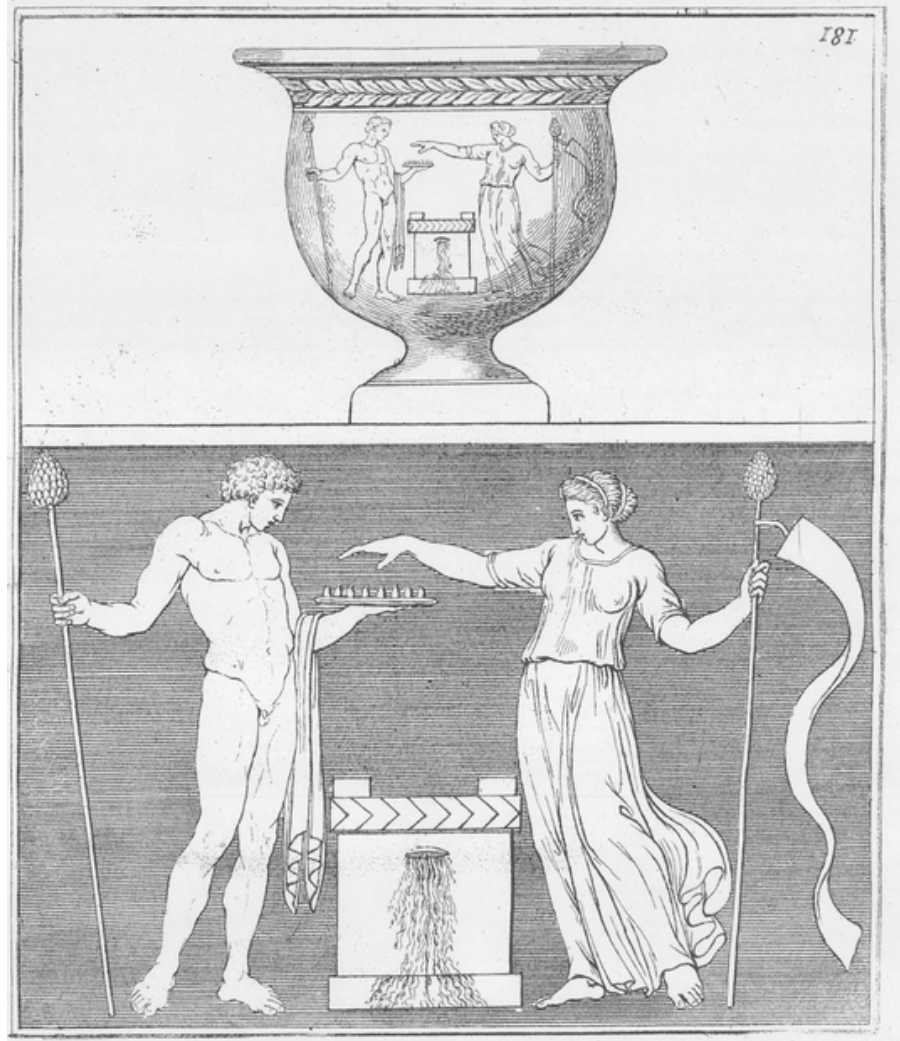
178: Vespasian sacrificing.



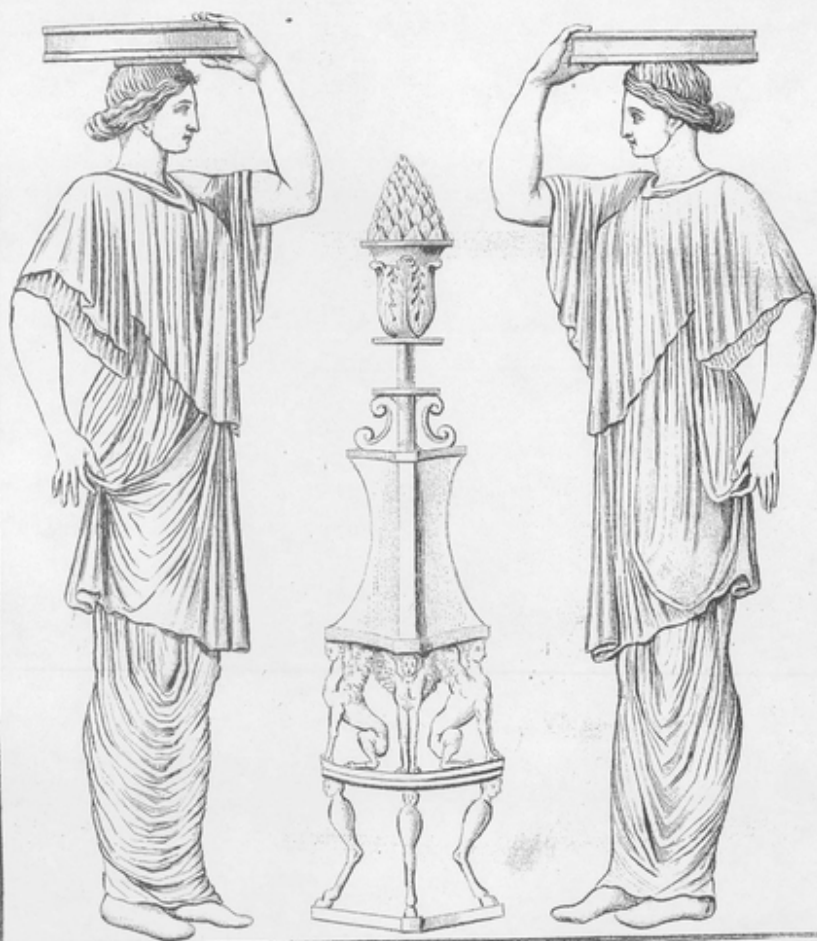
179: Antinous.



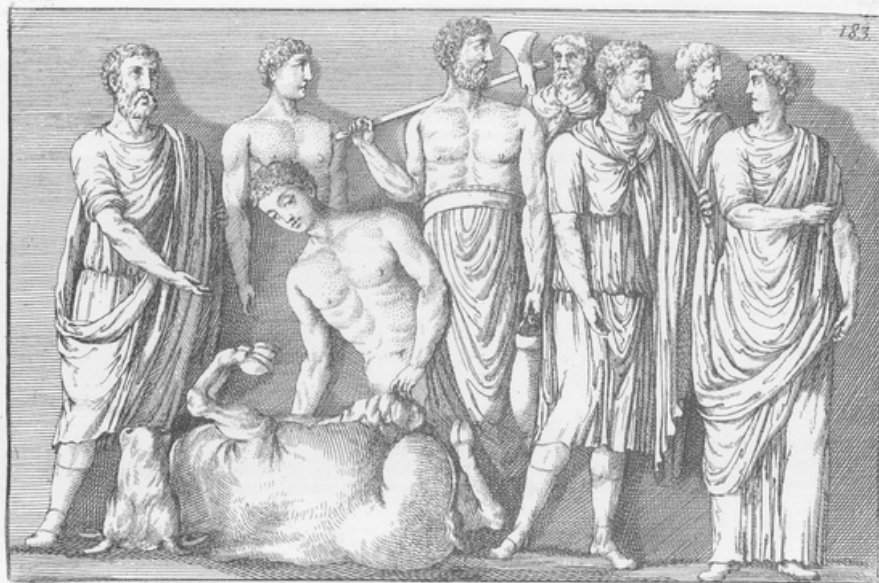
180: Antinous.



181: A pierced altar.



182: Two carcephoroi.



183: Examination of entrails.



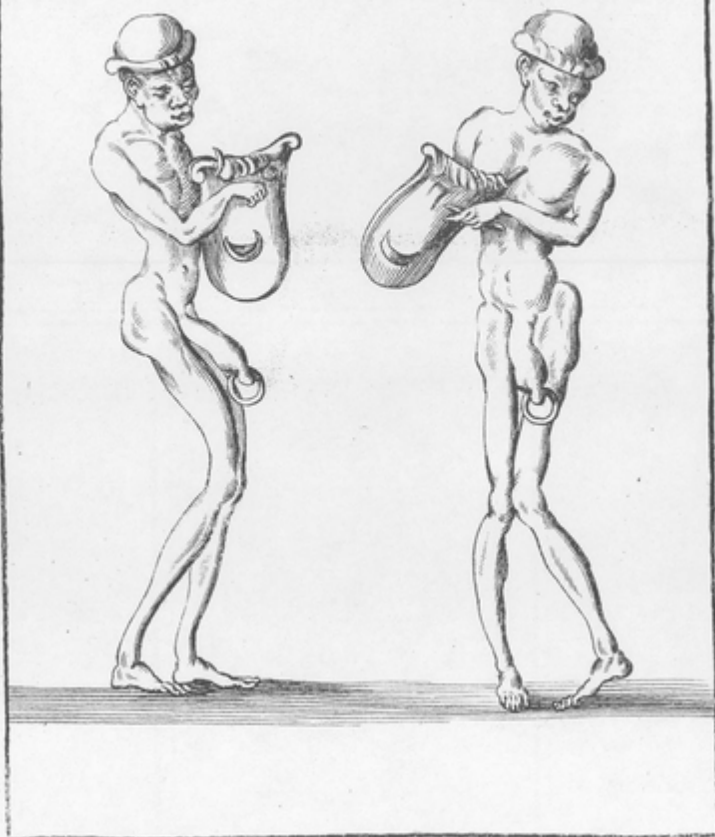
184: Education of boys.



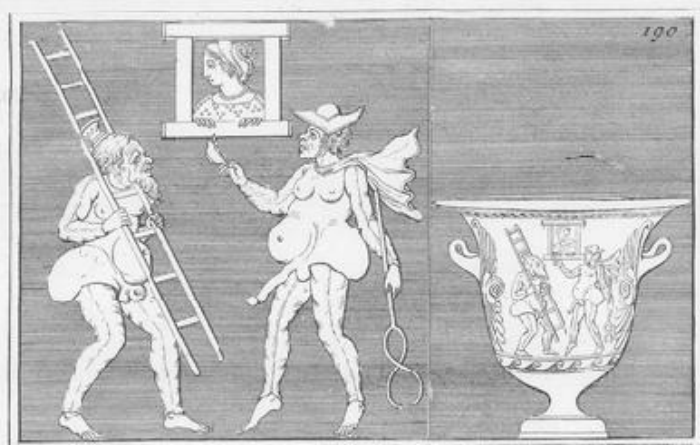
185: School for philosophers.







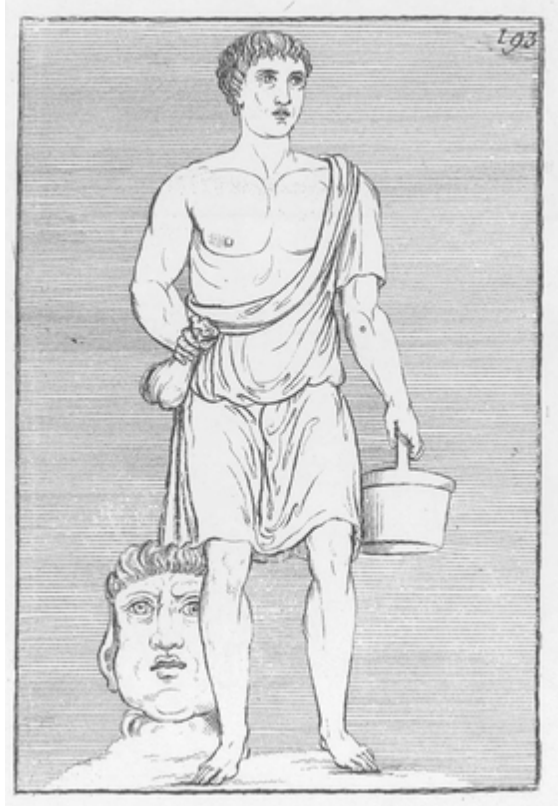
188: A singer and musician (two views)



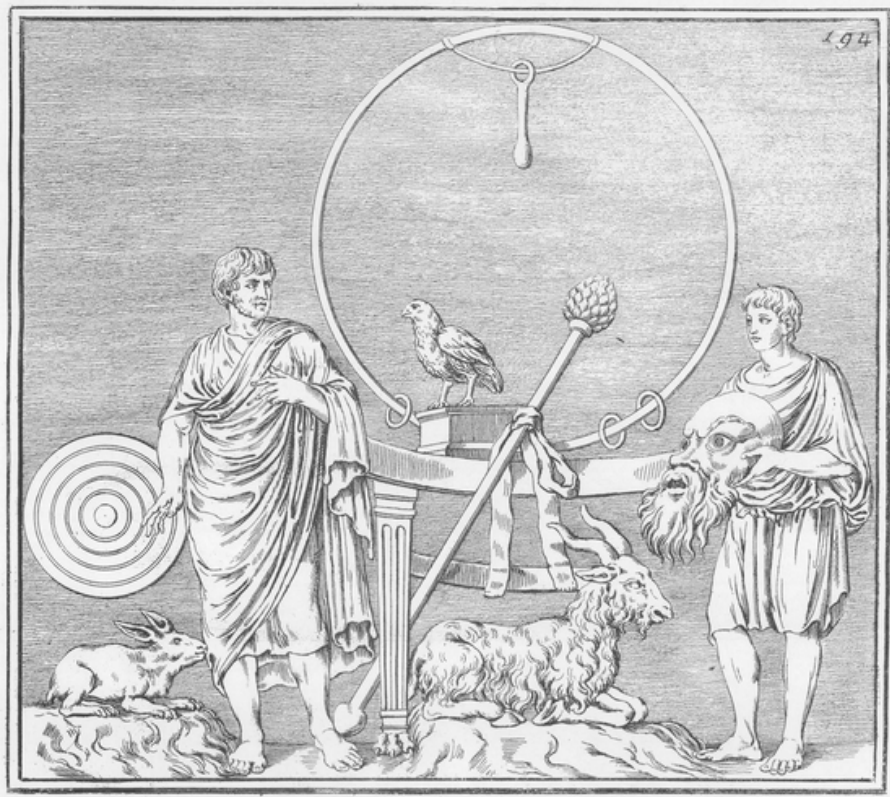
189: Dead youth with actors. 190: Jupiter and Mercury in an amorous adventure. 191: Aristophanes.



192: Poet or actor with theatrical masks.



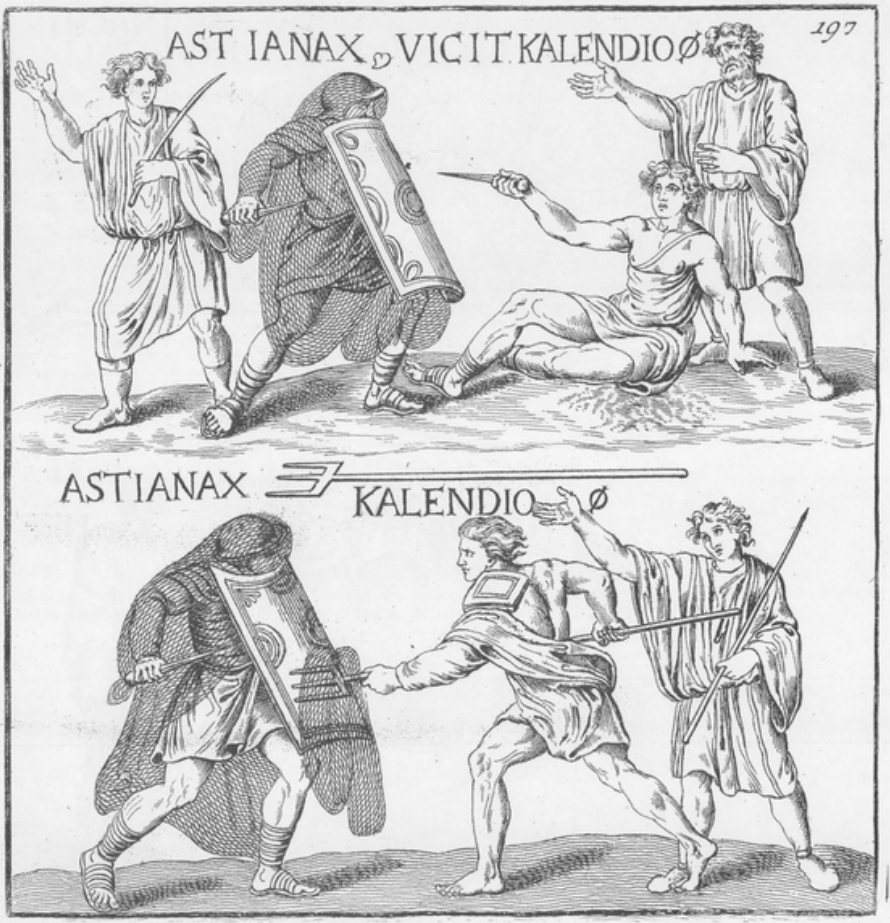
193: Slave in a comedy scene.



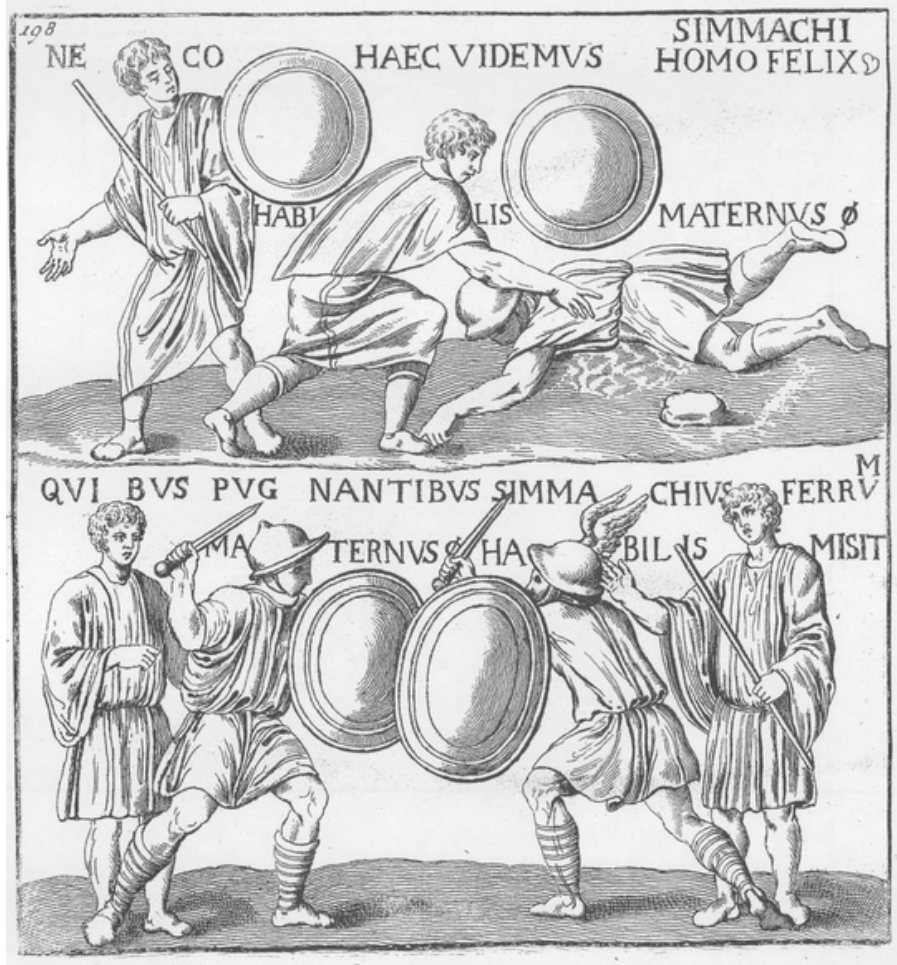
194: *Tragic and comic poets.*



195 & 196: Youths with noisemakers.



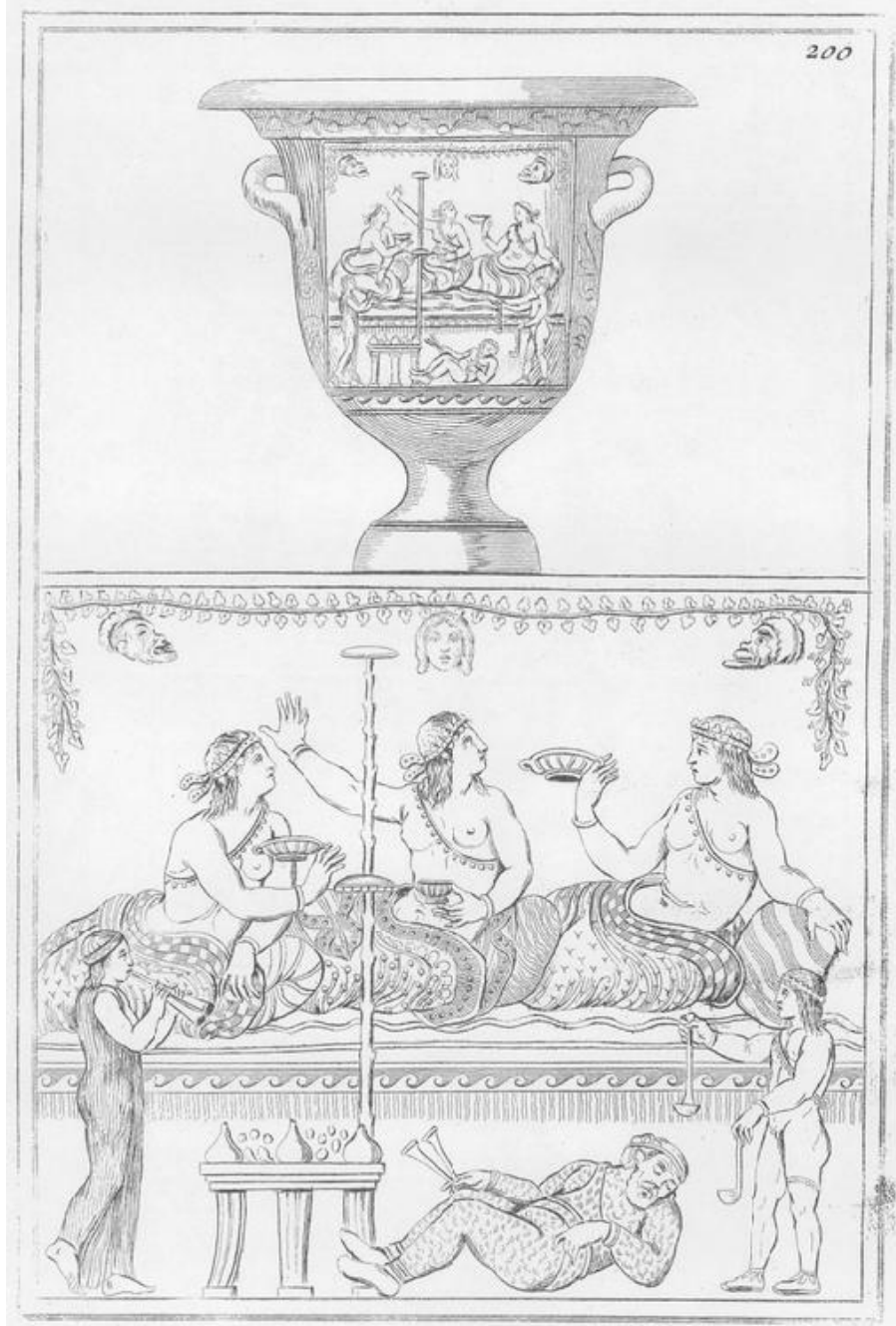
197: Gladiators.



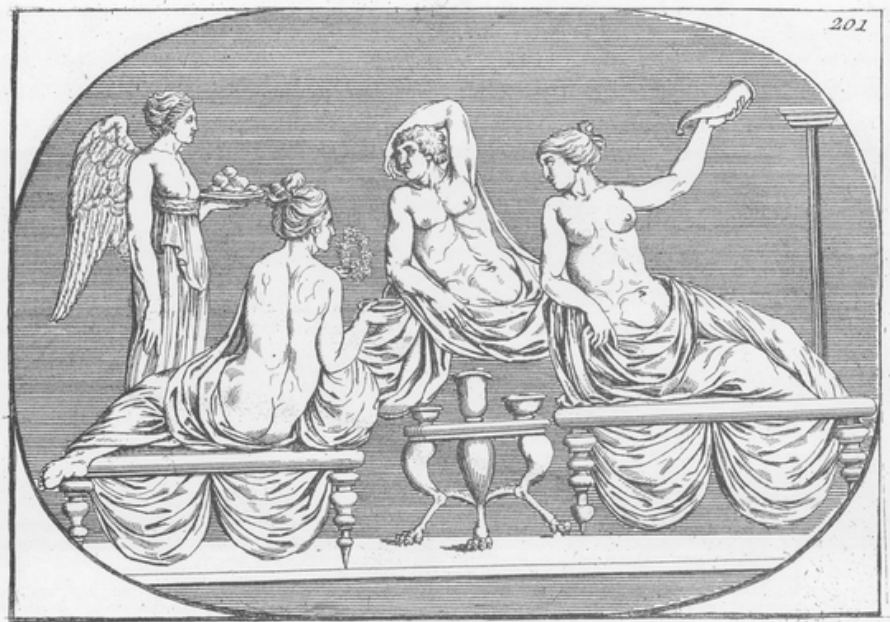
198: Gladiators.



199: *The gladiator Bato.*



200: A drinking party.



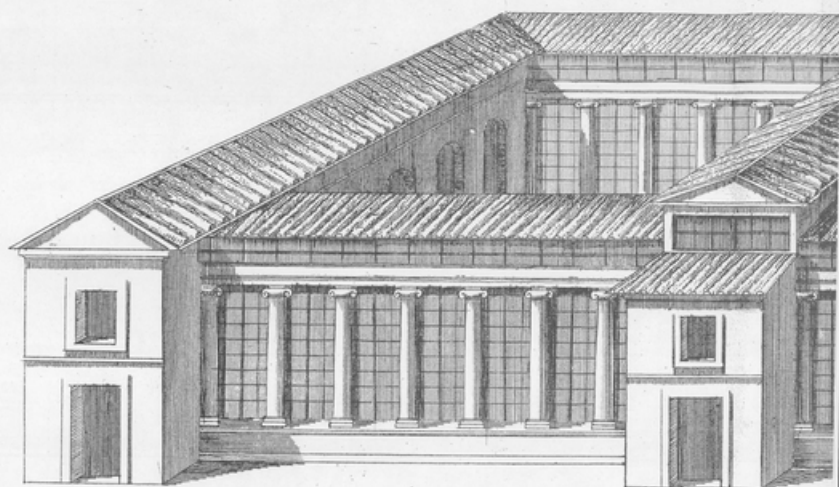
201: *A banquet.*



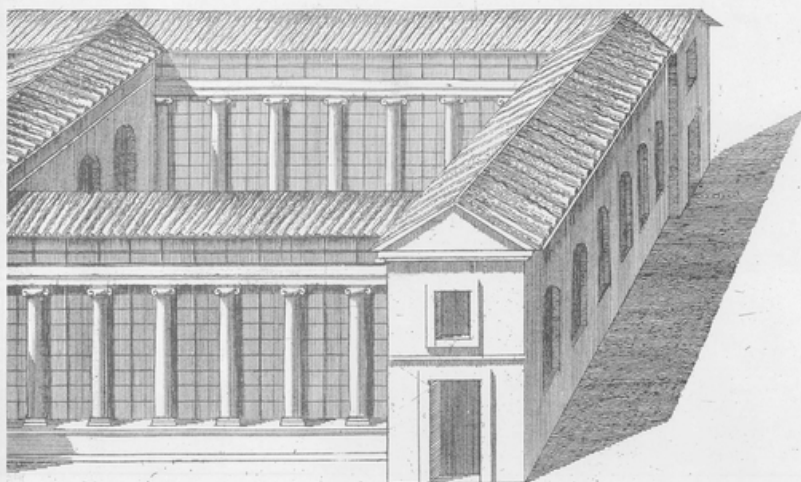
202: *Warrior mounting horse.*



203: Circus racing chariot.

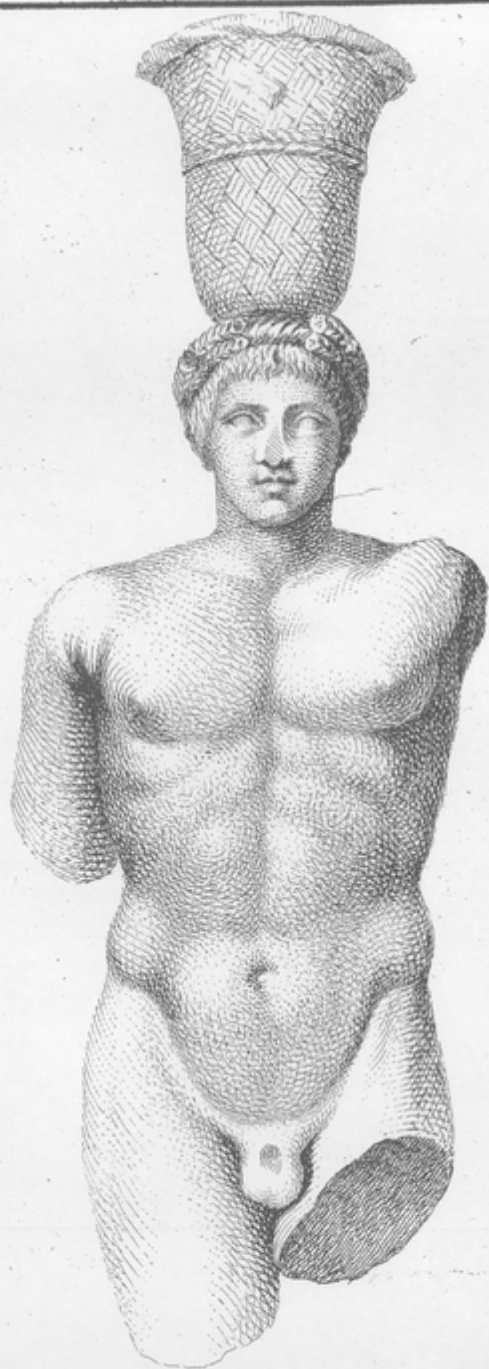


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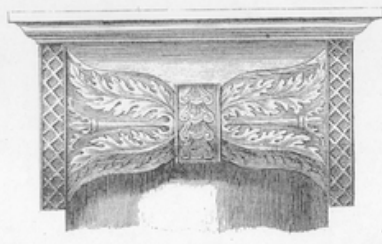


ES

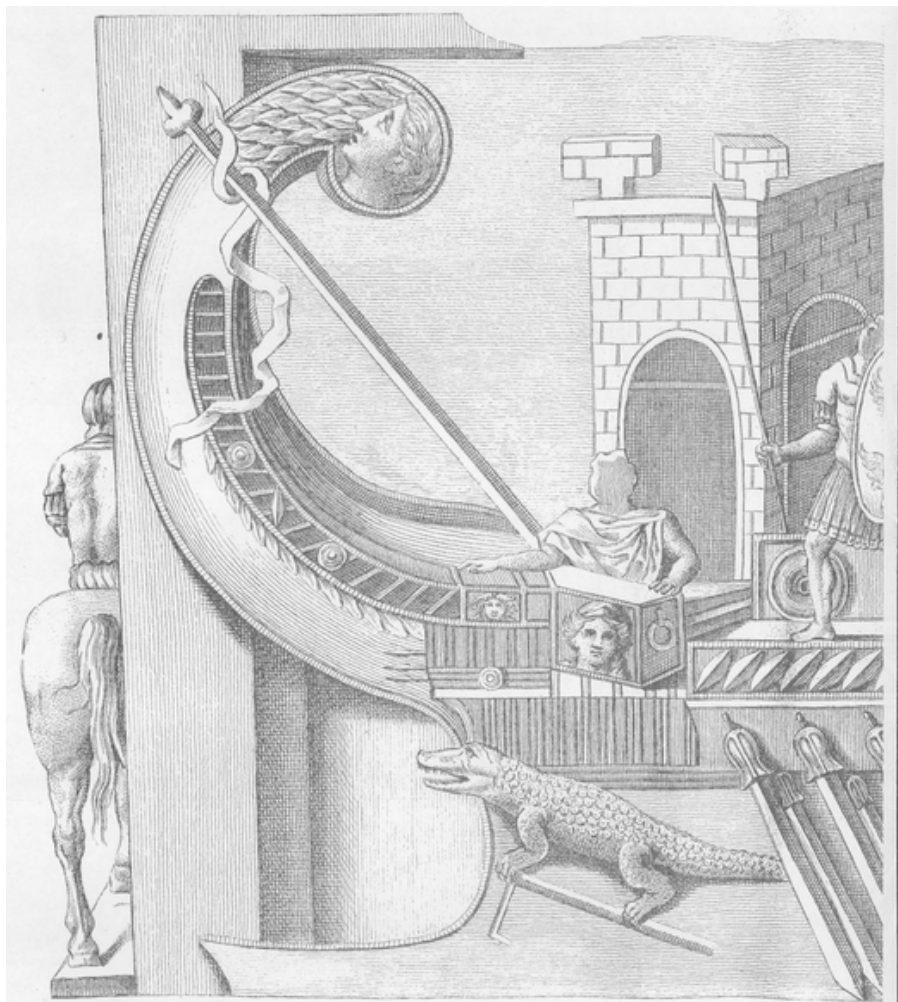
204: Baths built by the empress Faustina.



205: Telamon figure.

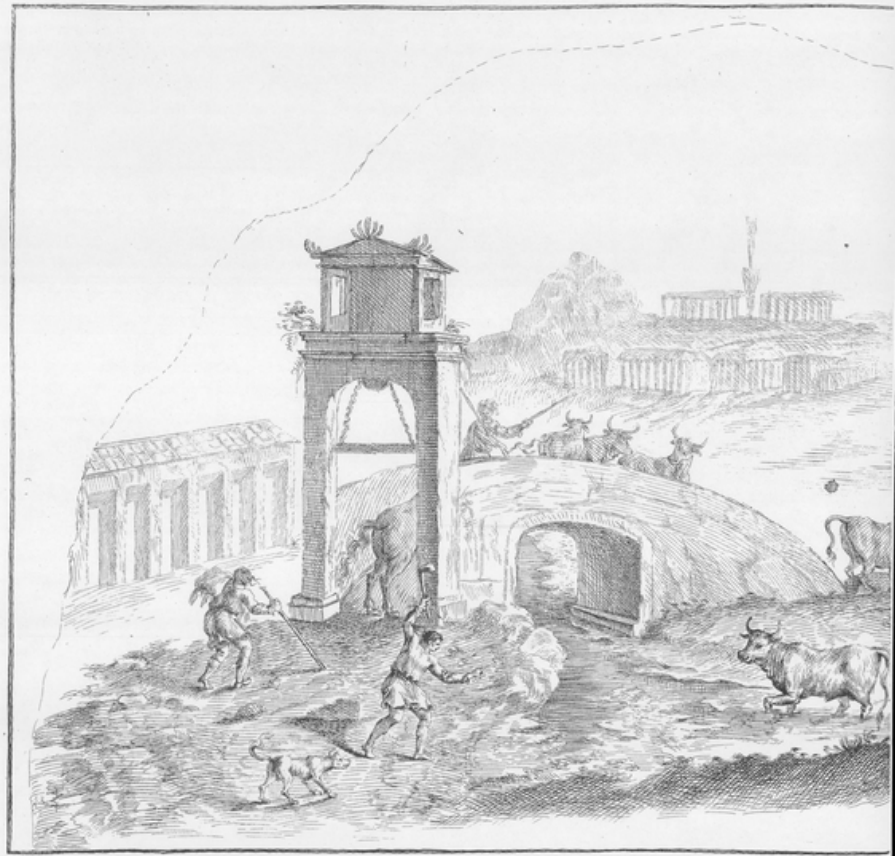


206: Ionic capital.



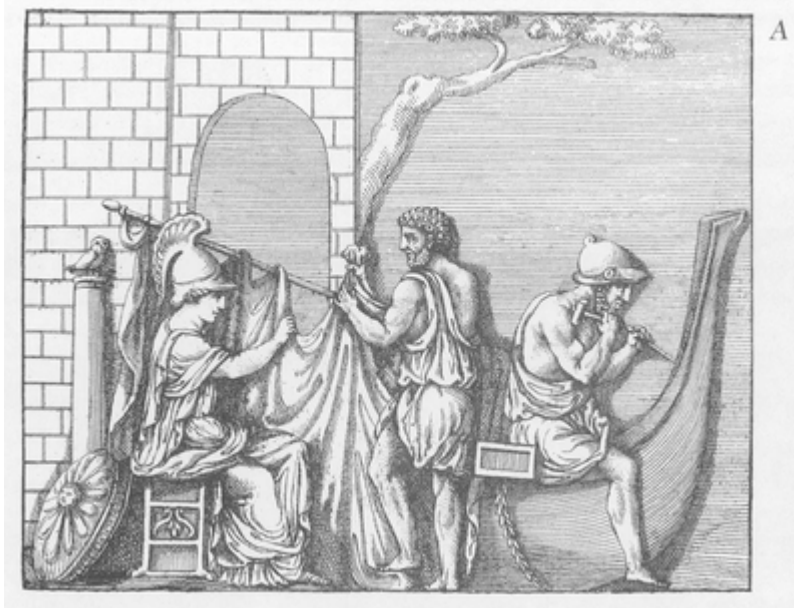


207: Bireme.





208: *Landscape.*



A: Building the ship Argo.



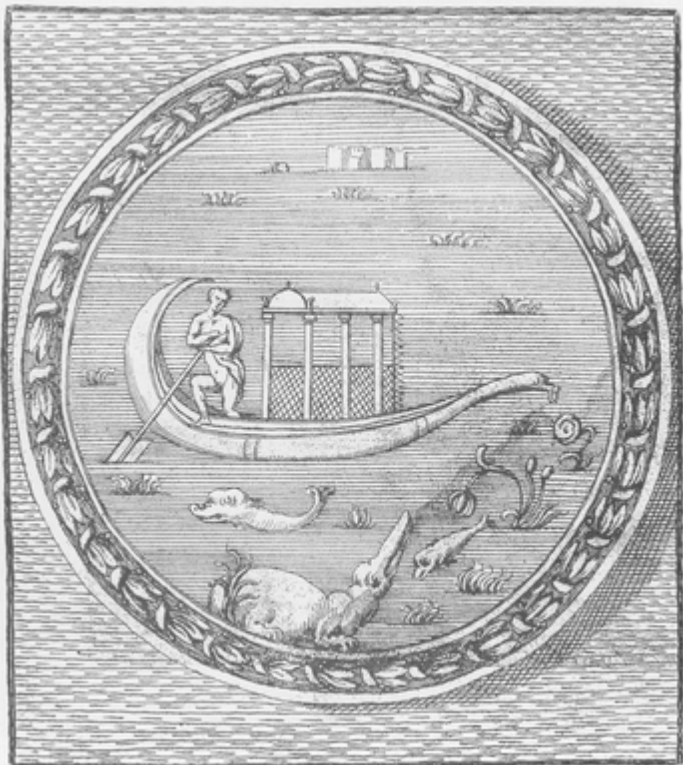
B: Goddesses worshipping Apollo.



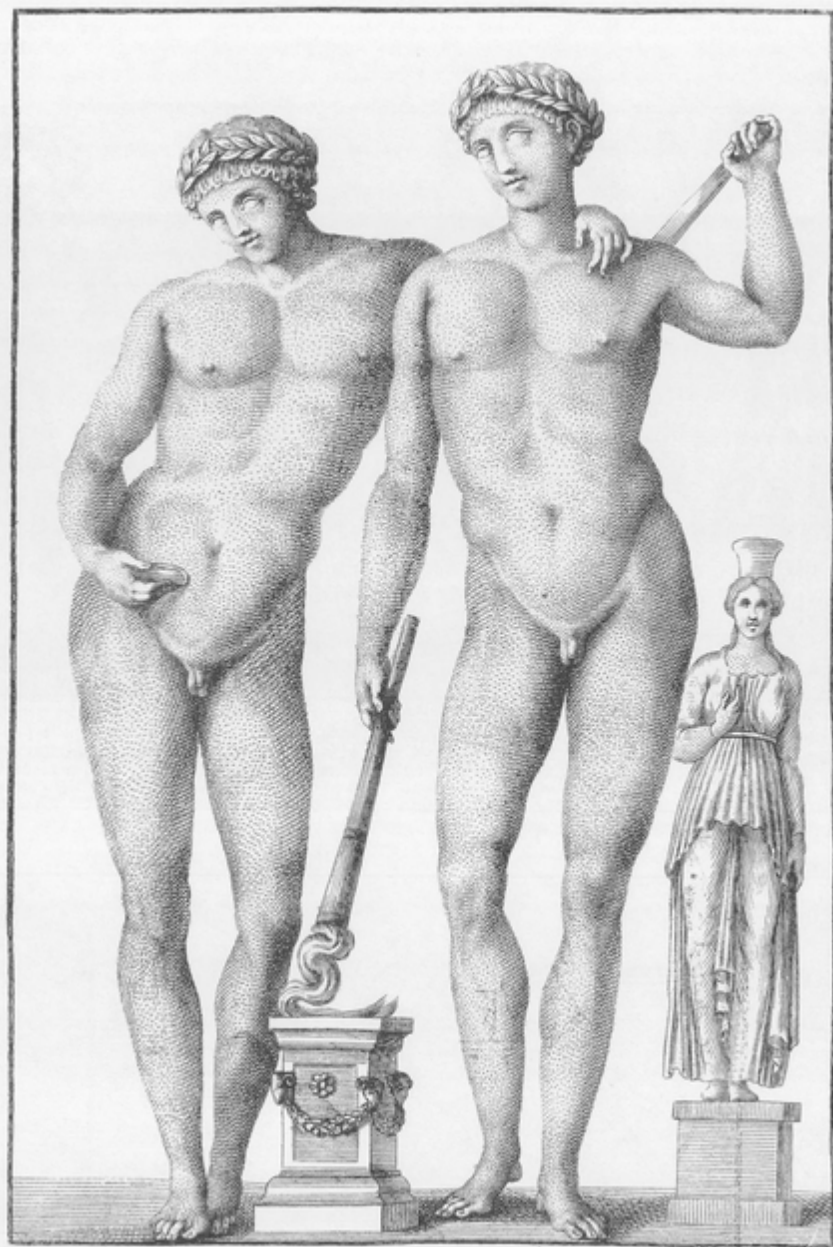
C: Winged putto.



D: Bacchanalian procession.



E: Seascape.



F: Orestes and Pylades.



G

G: Achilles on Scyros.



H

ΚΑΛΛΙΜΑΧΟΣ ΕΠΟΙΕΙ

H: Bacchantes and satyr.



I: Satyr.



J: Bacchante.



K: Herald.



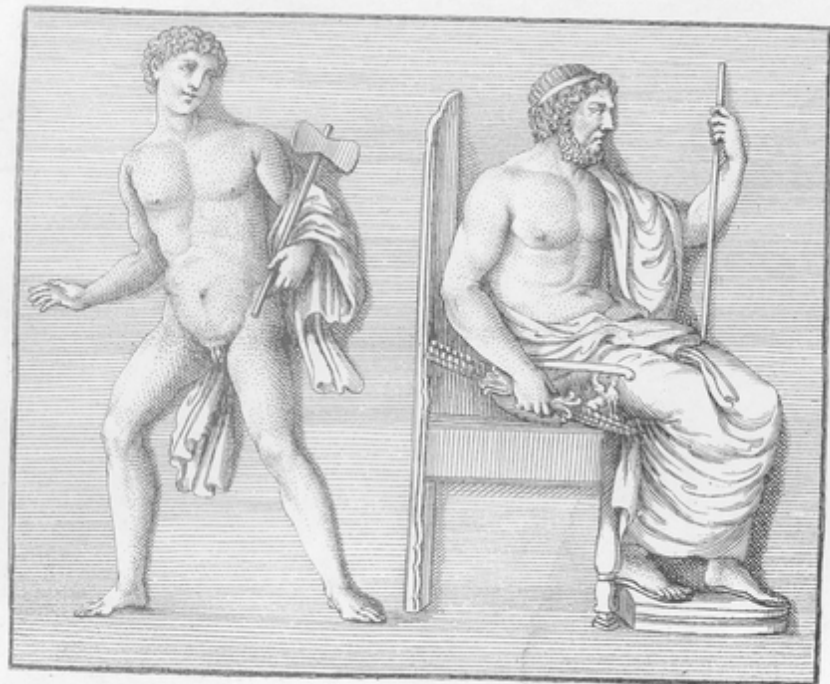
L: Nike sacrificing a bull.



M

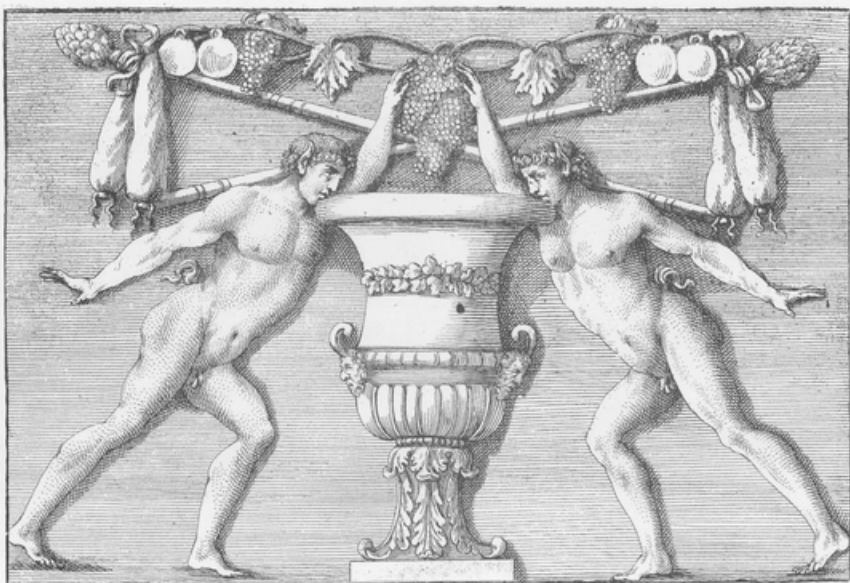
M: Woman at statue of Hygeia.

N

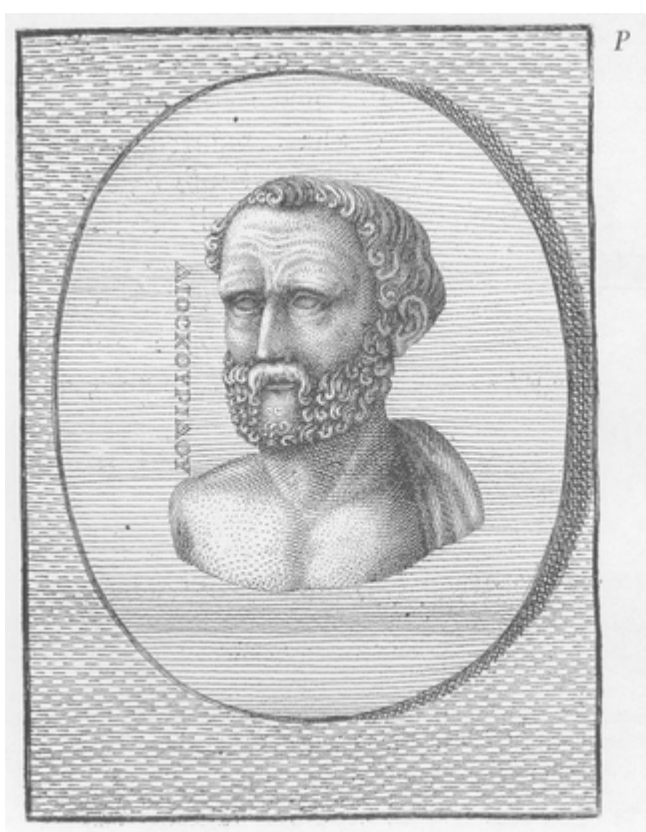


N: Vulcan and Jupiter.

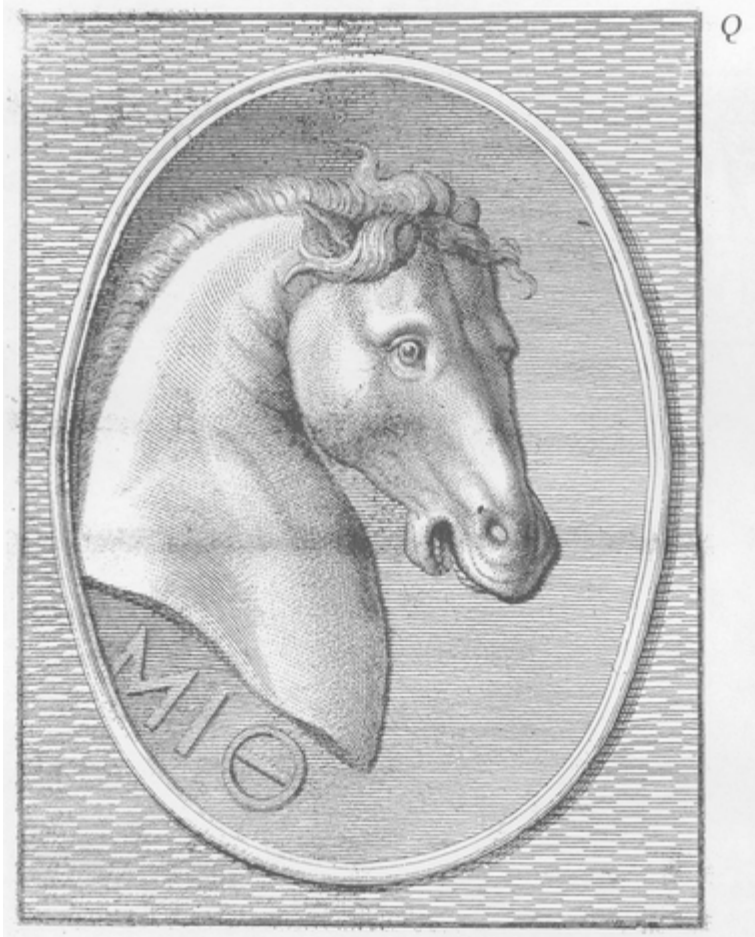
O



O: Bacchanalian revels.



P: Unidentified man.



Q: Horse's head.



R: Female figure.

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a The numbered notes appear together at the end of the Introduction.